

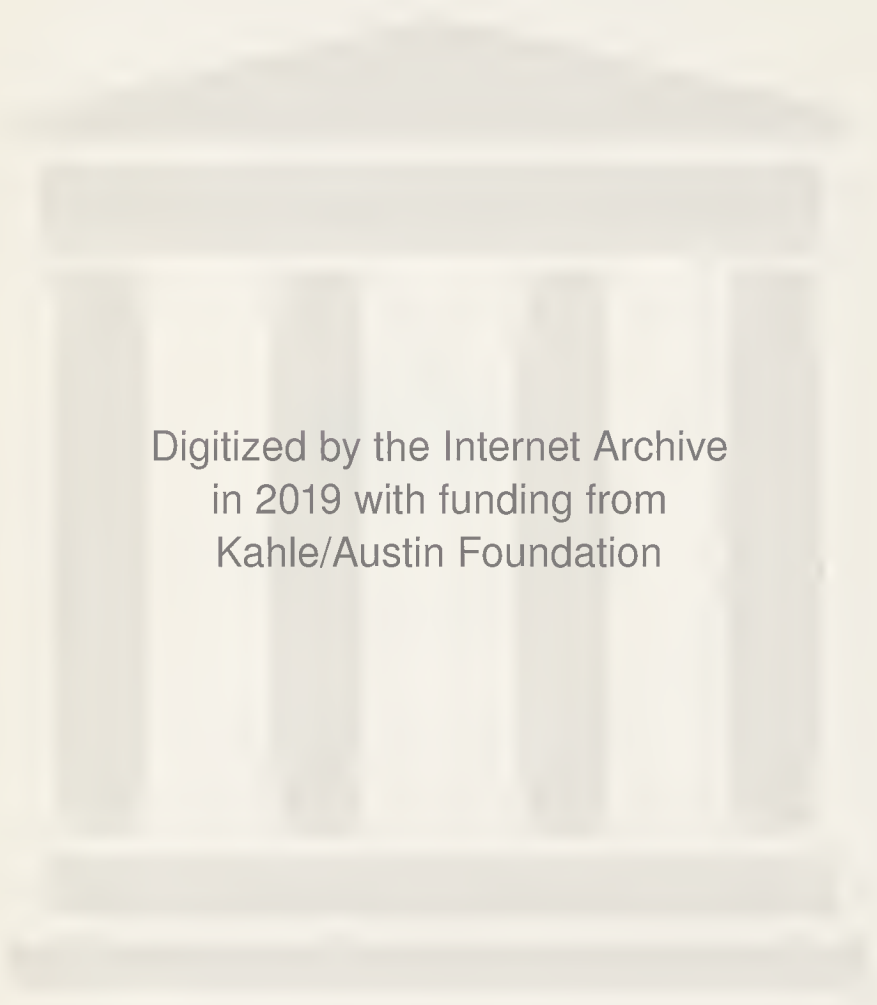


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THE  
CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Annual Report  
1924

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DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR  
OTTAWA

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PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

1924

## THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

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### *Secretary-Treasurer*

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F. W. Howay, Law Courts, New Westminster  
Basil Williams, McGill University, Montreal

### *Standing Committee on Historic Landmarks*

Pemberton Smith, 260 St. James St., Montreal  
Ægidius Fauteux, Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montreal  
Mrs. J. B. Simpson, 173 Percy St., Ottawa  
F. W. Howay, Law Courts, New Westminster  
A. S. Morton, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon

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## THE ANNUAL MEETING PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY  
LAWRENCE J. BURPEE

In opening this second annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, it is my purpose merely to put before you, as briefly as possible, some of the matters that have engaged our attention since the last annual meeting.

### OUTLINE LECTURES IN CANADIAN HISTORY

This project, you will remember, was discussed at our last meeting. The idea is that the association should have prepared, by competent hands, a series of outline lectures each devoted to some phase or part of Canadian history. The outlines would be for the use of high school teachers and others capable of developing them into lectures. They should strike the happy medium between a mere skeleton and a fully-developed lecture. They are intended, in fact, to furnish the groundwork upon which a lecture may be built. We supply the material, and the lecturer clothes it in his own language. Each outline would be accompanied by a set of slides, and other illustrative equipment, if the subject should lend itself to that sort of treatment. It is believed that in this way the association could do a very useful and patriotic piece of work, in breaking down a lot of mistaken ideas that have crept into the popular conception of Canadian history, and building up in their place, in the minds of both Canadians and others, sound ideas of the history of this country.

I need not remind you that this scheme, developed in a comprehensive way—and it is hardly worth attempting unless we plan to cover all the important aspects of Canadian history—involves an expenditure far beyond the means of this association. We can only hope to succeed by enlisting the co-operation of governmental agencies, in reproducing the outlines in print or some other convenient form, and in preparing sets of lantern slides, motion picture reels, etc. I believe I am justified in saying that we already have the warm support of the Public Archives of Canada, the National Parks Branch of the Department of the Interior, and the Natural Resources Intelligence Service. The only obstacle that may for a time stand in the way of their fullest co-operation is the policy of rigid economy that has been imposed upon all the departments of the Dominion service. We are already indebted to the Public Archives for assistance in getting together material for slides; to the Natural Resources Service for the making of negatives and slides; and to the National Parks

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Branch and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company for gifts of motion picture reels.

A good deal of time has been devoted during the past few months to the carrying out of a survey of available sources of material for slides, not only in such obvious collections of historical pictures as the Public Archives, the Chateau de Ramezay and the John Ross Robertson collection in the Toronto Public Library, but also in other less known places. It is abundantly clear that we shall not lack material to illustrate the outline lectures, if we can make arrangements to have it reproduced in the form of slides. We already have in Ottawa several hundred slides, covering to some extent such fields as early exploration in both Eastern and Western Canada, the history of New France, the western fur trade, early means of transportation, the Indians and the Eskimo, animal life and the physical features of the country. The material for these has been drawn mainly from the Public Archives, the National Parks Branch and the Paul Kane collection in the Royal Ontario Museum. This is of course merely a nucleus of the collection that we shall need to illustrate the outline lectures; and it must not be forgotten that for every lecture we shall need several sets of slides.

As to the outlines themselves, that is of course the branch of the scheme for which this association is directly responsible. I am glad to say that we have already made this much progress—a tentative list of eighteen subjects has been prepared, and in each case a Canadian scholar thoroughly familiar with the subject has been asked to undertake the preparation of an outline lecture.

The following is a list of the subjects, and of those who have undertaken to prepare the outlines. In some cases, where the writer was already overwhelmed with work, he has accepted this patriotic task on the understanding that it would have to await the completion of other commitments.

Arthur G. Doughty.....	Siege of Quebec, 1759*.
George M. Wrong.....	The Fall of New France.
Charles W. Colby.....	Frontenac.
Ægidius Fauteux.....	Founding of Montreal.
Chester Martin.....	Red River Colony.
Basil Williams.....	Growth of Responsible Government.
J. C. Webster.....	Siege of Louisbourg.
W. S. Wallace.....	Loyalists in Upper Canada.
O. D. Skelton.....	The Canada Company.
F. W. Howay.....	Sir James Douglas.
A. MacMechan.....	Story of Halifax.
Gustave Lanctot.....	Jacques Cartier.

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- D. A. McArthur..... The Quebec Act.  
L. J. Burpee..... The North West Company.

We also asked Hon. Thomas Chapais, Col. William Wood, Pierre-Georges Roy, and Mgr. A. E. Gosselin, to undertake the subjects of Montcalm, the Naval War of 1812, Early Days of Quebec, and Champlain, respectively, but they have not yet felt at liberty to do so. Perhaps we may be able to enlist their co-operation at some later date.

### DICTIONARY OF CANADIAN HISTORY

I have been in correspondence with a number of Canadian historians and historical students and teachers, as to the desirability and practicability of preparing such a work of reference. The idea was that it might be carried out as a co-operative scheme, the more important topics at any rate being prepared by those most competent to write upon each particular subject. As to the desirability of such a dictionary, I find no differences of opinion. Every one who has been consulted agrees that a Dictionary of Canadian History is one of the most needed works of reference. The practicability of undertaking it as a co-operative scheme is still in the air. The difficulty is the same that stands in the way of so many similar projects; the men most competent to do the work are already committed to a great many other duties, and do not feel justified in adding another burden to their load. However, the scheme is still alive, and some way will be found of turning it into a reality.

### CANADIAN HISTORICAL ATLAS

You will not have forgotten that this matter was brought before the association at the last annual meeting. It is one of several projects which the association has before it, involving considerable expenditures. Like these others, it is a very important and desirable piece of work; but the mere fact that it cannot be carried out without ample funds, forces us to go slowly. With our present income, the only practical way of publishing such a work of reference is by securing financial support from government sources; and the present moment is a peculiarly inopportune time to ask either the Dominion or Provincial Governments for money. It is improbable that any publisher would undertake it as a private venture, as it would be expensive to produce and the market is limited. Therefore we must keep it before us as a project to be taken up at the earliest practicable opportunity.

In the meantime, Professor MacMechan has been good enough to outline roughly his ideas as to the appropriate steps to be taken in preparing such an Historical Atlas. He says:—



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"The first step would be the formation of an extensive committee of selection, composed of leading historians from each province. These would submit suggestions to a central committee, small and with editorial powers. This editorial committee would sift and winnow the material. It would have to be brought within reasonable limits—say 200 pages, the format being fairly large, flat and thin, in short something like a geography.

"These 200 pages should include:—

"1. Pictures by good artists, of scenes in Canadian history. I should insist on their esthetic value.

"2. Portraits of the chief actors in the drama, with signatures; spurious portraits rigorously excluded.

"3. Scenes from the life of the various provinces: fishing, lumbering, harvesting, etc., early views of cities, etc."

### MACKENZIE NATIONAL PARK

There has been brought to the attention of the association a proposal for the creation of a National Park at Bella Coola, on the Pacific coast, to include the historic spot where Alexander Mackenzie first reached salt water on his memorable expedition overland to the Pacific in 1793. It is represented that this park would not only form a very appropriate memorial to the great explorer, but that it would also contain all the essentials of a National park; glorious scenery in mountain, forest and waterways; fishing, mountain-climbing, salt and fresh water bathing and hot springs; mountain goats, bears, and other wild life; petroglyphs and other records of Indian life, past and present. With the park was associated a proposal for a highway or motor road, to follow in part the route of Mackenzie down to the sea, and connect at its eastern end with existing motor highways.

The suggestion, it is understood, has been before the National Parks Branch at Ottawa, and also before the Government of British Columbia. The attitude of the latter Government is of course a very important consideration, as the first step would be the transfer of such lands as might be required for the park from the province to the Dominion. There is reason to believe that the British Columbia authorities are not yet prepared to consider favourably the transfer of lands for a park, but might be willing to convey to the Dominion a smaller area near Bella Coola to be set apart as a National site in commemoration of Mackenzie's expedition. This at any rate would be a step in the right direction; and the creation of a park at some future time might reasonably be expected to follow. It would not be inappropriate for this association to put itself on record as favouring the creation of a National park, and failing that, a National site.



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### PETROGLYPHS NEAR BELLA COOLA

In this connection, it is very desirable that steps should be taken to preserve certain petroglyphs, or Indian sculptured figures, on the rocks a mile south of Bella Coola river and at other points in the same area. Probably this could be arranged for in connection with the Mackenzie National Site.

### HISTORIC SITES

We also ascertained that there existed in the neighbourhood of the town of Macleod, Alberta, a very characteristic and striking buffalo pound, which had been in use for many generations among the Indians of the western plains. The matter was taken up with the Historic Sites and Monuments Board, and we were advised that this is one of the sites recommended for preservation or marking, and that steps were being taken to that end.

Complaints having been received as to the condition of the old military burying-ground at Chambly, representations were made to the Historic Sites Board, and we were advised that this cemetery had now been put under the control of the Department of the Interior, and would be looked after as part of the Fort Chambly National Site.

Other similar matters that were brought to the attention of the Historic Sites Board were the marking of the old North West Company's post at Kamloops, and the preservation of the bastion of the old fort at Nanaimo. No action has so far been taken on these suggestions, so far as we are aware.

### INDIAN VILLAGE IN STANLEY PARK

It is pleasant to record the efforts of the Art, Historical and Scientific Association of Vancouver, toward the erection of a typical Indian village in Stanley park. The village will comprise three lodges, to be carved and painted inside and outside by Indian artists; and before these will stand a number of totem poles. A suitable site has been placed at the disposal of the association, and some of the totem poles are already in position.

### PARKMAN CENTENARY

In November last the centenary of the birth of Francis Parkman was celebrated at Montreal. The celebration took the form of a very successful meeting, at which addresses were delivered by Sir Arthur Currie, M. Jules Jusserand, the French Ambassador at Washington, Dr. Bliss Perry of Harvard, Ægidius Fauteux of the St. Sulpice Library, Montreal, and Dr. Charles W. Colby, the well-

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known Canadian historian. The Brassard Choir of Montreal sang a number of the inimitable old folk songs of French Canada.

At the same time, a very interesting exhibit of Parkman material was held in the Museum of McGill University Library, including relics of the historian, manuscripts, corrected proofs, autographed copies of his books, and a great deal of material bearing upon the history of the period that one associates with the name of Parkman. Material for the exhibit was loaned by the Public Archives of Canada, Harvard University, the Library of St. Sulpice, the Massachusetts Historical Society and Brown University.

As a permanent memorial to Parkman, the committee responsible for the commemoration proposed a fund to endow scholarships tenable at any of the Canadian universities or at the Public Archives in Ottawa by students making a special study of Canadian history; and to assist in the publication of meritorious works on Canadian history.

It may interest you to know that the committee, of which Sir Arthur Currie was chairman, was an unusually representative one, including representatives of all the principal Canadian colleges and learned societies, the Prime Minister and several other members of the Cabinet, the Leader of the Opposition, the Speakers of both Houses of Parliament, the Premiers of nearly all the provinces, and a number of other men prominent in the public and business life of the country. This association was represented directly by Mr. Pemberton Smith, Mr. George Iles, and myself, and indirectly by several others who also represented other organizations.

A pamphlet containing a full report of the addresses at the Montreal meeting has recently been issued by the committee and McGill University.

### REPRESENTATIVES AT OTHER MEETINGS

This association was represented at the last annual meeting of the American Historical Association, in December last, by Prof. Basil Williams, of McGill University, and Prof. D. A. McArthur, of Queen's University, who conveyed to our American friends and fellow-workers our most friendly greetings and wishes for their continued success.

I had the privilege of representing the association at a most interesting meeting in September, 1923, to commemorate the heroic work of the Jesuit Fathers on the shores of Georgian bay. Memorials erected by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board were unveiled, and a number of stimulating addresses were given by Brig.-Gen. Cruikshank, Father Devine, of St. Mary's College, Dr. Coyne, Mr. Biggar, of the Public Archives, and others.

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### NEWSPAPERS AS HISTORICAL MATERIAL

Our attention was drawn not long ago to the fact that an opportunity offered to secure for preservation a complete file of a long-established Canadian newspaper. Even if it was the province of such an association as ours to preserve such material, we have at the present time no quarters either for a library or office purposes, and if we had, the price at which this file of newspapers is held would be far beyond our means. The matter has been turned over to the Public Archives for consideration.

There can, of course, be no question as to the importance of preserving files of our principal newspapers, particularly those that have been in existence for many years. They are invaluable as sources of historical material. In fact the vital necessity of getting them into some place where they will be safe from vandalism has been emphasized recently by an incident that one is almost ashamed as a Canadian to record. It appears that one of our members had occasion not long ago to consult the files of one of the oldest of Canadian newspapers, for information that could not very well be obtained elsewhere. On applying at the office, he was told that the old files of the paper had recently been destroyed, as the space they occupied was needed for other purposes. The contrast is rather singular. The proprietors of one newspaper hold their set at a practically prohibitive price; while those of another wantonly destroy a set that the Public Archives, McGill University Library, or any other similar institution would most gladly have accepted for preservation, either as a gift or on loan. This is one of the ways in which historical material of incalculable value is lost to Canada and to the world.

### PERMANENT QUARTERS FOR THE ASSOCIATION

The fact that we have at the present time no quarters either for office or library purposes, or for executive or other meetings, has already been alluded to. It is to be hoped that some means may be found of remedying this situation. For obvious reasons, and particularly because of the presence there of the Public Archives, Ottawa seems to be the most suitable place for the headquarters of the association. Unfortunately our means do not at present admit of renting suitable rooms, but possibly some other way may be found of getting over the difficulty.

### REVENUE

The treasurer will put before you a statement of the finances of the association. It has been our policy to keep the annual fees

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down to a minimum, so that no one who is interested in the objects of the association will be prevented from joining on the score of expense. At the same time, if we are to carry out any of the ambitious schemes that have been put before you, we must have a larger revenue, either in the form of endowments or annual grants from the Dominion or Provincial Governments. Some steps have already been taken by your executive toward that end, but so far without success. Success will come in time.

### NEW MEMBERS

It is gratifying to report that while 45 new members, including a life member, were added in 1922-23, we have gained 109 in 1923-24—for the most part within the last few months. In these are included five organizations and 104 individuals. Of the latter, 49 are from Quebec, 36 from Ontario, 9 from British Columbia, 5 from New Brunswick, 3 from Nova Scotia and 2 from Manitoba. There are 37 French and 12 English from Quebec, and 31 English and 5 French from Ontario. It will be seen, therefore, that the association is growing as we would have it, members coming from all the provinces, and from both the races which for the most part make up our population. We are also getting the type of members that is most needed, men and women who are really interested in the objects for which the association was created.

### DECEASED MEMBERS

On the other hand, we must lament the loss of several of our old members, who were loyal friends and who all took a keen interest in the work of the association. Notable among these was E. C. Whitney, one of our life members, a man who had earned the respect of everyone both because of his generous support of all good causes and because he was in best possible sense a good citizen. We have also lost Sir Edmund Walker, who was not only eminent as a banker and publicist, but also as a student of Canadian history; Dr. Otto Klotz, astronomer, an authority on Canadian boundary questions, and a most kindly gentleman; J. Castell Hopkins, a well known writer on historical and other questions, and editor of that invaluable annual, the *Canadian Annual Review*; James Hope, the veteran Ottawa bookseller; Lawrence Fortesque, who was a mine of information on the early history of the west and the Mounted Police; and H. C. Mott, of Brooklyn, N.Y., a warm friend of the association. The usual resolutions will, I presume, be submitted to you.



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### CANADIAN HISTORY SOCIETY

Sir Campbell Stuart is, it is understood, at present in Canada for the purpose of organizing a Canadian branch of this society, of which branches have already been established in England and France. The particular objects of the society are to "maintain an interest in the Canada of to-day among the descendants of those who have contributed to the upbuilding of its institutions; to ensure the preservation of historical records relating to Canada, and to render them available to the society for the purpose of its publications; to publish in a series of volumes biographies of those who have by their services contributed to the history of the country; and to endeavour by research to discover historical sources."

As an organization working in the same general field to which we are devoted, this association wishes the Canadian History Society every possible success, and offers its co-operation wherever that may be found practicable. In saying this, I feel sure that I am voicing the wishes of the members of the Canadian Historical Association.

### UNIQUE QUEBEC

Finally, I should like to express my own personal appreciation of the delightfully characteristic manner in which Colonel William Wood has brought together the many facts and conditions that make this most picturesque old town of Quebec unique in Canada, in America and in some respects in the world. In dedicating his pamphlet to the Canadian Historical Association, as well as to the Royal Society of Canada, he has paid us a compliment to which we cannot be insensible.

The pamphlet is published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, and I should like to express, on behalf of this association, our satisfaction in having the opportunity of meeting here with that most venerable of Canadian societies, our appreciation of the splendid work they have done in the past for Canadian history and are still doing, and our warmest congratulations on the completion of a century of achievement. Let us hope that the society may see not only many more years but many more centuries of equally useful and patriotic effort.



REPORT OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON HISTORIC  
LANDMARKS

Your committee desire to report progress. For the past year, they have been considering the establishment of a permanent record of the location of historic sites all through the Dominion. In a rapidly growing country like Canada, cases are unfortunately too frequent where the actual location of the site where some outstanding historic event took place, has been lost to memory. An instance is the spot where Dollard's fort actually stood at Carillon. No data has been found available to locate this.

The actual spot where Jacques Cartier landed on Isle-aux-Coudres in 1535 has been the subject of lively discussions. Few living people can locate the old "Parliament House" in Montreal, burnt in 1849. Unfortunately, old buildings and old sites get "swallowed up" fairly rapidly by the growth of modern cities.

It is the purpose of your committee to carry on and expand the "Card Index" first set up by our very enthusiastic member, Mrs. J. B. Simpson, and to endeavour to encourage our members all through the Dominion to send in reliable data as to exact locations, so that, in the future, when our association, or the various Sites Board, decide to set up a memorial in some city where it is badly needed, there may be available from this branch the proper data to show exactly where the memorial ought to be erected.

PEMBERTON SMITH, *Chairman.*

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REPORT OF THE TREASURER  
FOR THE YEAR ENDING APRIL 30, 1924

*Receipts—*

Balance in the Bank of Montreal, May 24, 1923.....	\$ 367 33
Annual subscriptions.....	840 86
Bank interest.....	3 27
	<hr/>
	\$1,211 46

*Expenditures—*

Printing (circular letters and stationery).....	\$ 111 28
Expenses of annual meeting.....	66 20
Secretary-treasurer's allowance for expenses.....	200 00
The Francis Parkman Centenary.....	100 00
The Canadian Historical Association lecture scheme (Lantern slides, equipment, etc.).....	223 81
Postage and sundries.....	52 44
Balance in the Bank of Montreal, April 30, 1924.....	457 73
	<hr/>
	\$1,211 46

C. M. BARBEAU,  
*Treasurer.*

Examined and found correct:

JAS. F. CUNNINGHAM,  
*Auditor.*

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## THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

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### MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING AT QUEBEC, MAY 23-24, 1924

The annual meeting of the association was held in Quebec city, on Friday and Saturday, May 23 and 24.

On the evening of May 23 the annual Popular Lecture was given before a large audience in the Promotion Hall of Laval University. The lecturer was Mr. Ægidius Fauteux, of the Saint-Sulpice Library, Montreal, and his subject, the life of Montcalm in Canada.

At the morning and afternoon meetings of May 24, the following members were present, and they inscribed their names in the official record of the Society:—

Mr. J. C. Sutherland (representing the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec), Prof. W. T. Waugh (the Montreal Historical Association), M. Montarville Boucher de La Bruère (the Antiquarian and Numismatic Society of Montreal), Miss Frances M. Staton (the Toronto Public Library), Mrs. I. C. McLimont (Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire), Prof. Archibald MacMechan (Historical Association of Annapolis Royal), Mme. E. C. Pourtier (the Women's Canadian Historical Association of Ottawa), Professor Leo Harvey (the University of New Brunswick), Col. M. G. Marquis (La Société des Arts, Sciences et Lettres de Québec), Hon. F. W. Howay (the British Columbia Historical Association), MM. Cyrille Tessier, Philippe Angers, Prof. Arthur S. Morton (University of Saskatchewan), Chanoine Emile Chartier (Université de Montreal), Pierre-Georges Roy, Alphonse Gagnon, Joseph Dumais, Abbé Ivanhoë Caron, Georges Bellerive, Francis J. Audet, J.-A. Corriveau, John Hamilton, Henry Iwers, Pemberton Smith, Hon. Thomas Chapais, Lawrence J. Burpee, J. F. Kenney, R. W. Brock (the University of British Columbia), C. Marius Barbeau, and others.

The papers and addresses given, after the presentation of the reports of the treasurer and the Landmarks Committee, were the following:—

The Presidential Address, by Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee;

M. Philippe Angers, "L'Invasion de Québec par Arnold";

Professor Leo Harvey, a short explanation of the Paget Colour process, and its practical importance in the preparation of coloured lantern slides for lectures on history;

Professor W. T. Waugh, on "Shakespeare's Henry V in the Light of Recent Research";

Miss Frances M. Staton, on the Rebellion of 1837 and its bibliography;

Professor William H. Atherton, on "The Study of Local History"; in the absence of the author this paper was read by Judge F. W. Howay;

Col. William Wood, on the Yale University scheme for the illustration of national history, especially by means of motion pictures, and sets of other pictures;

M. Georges Marquis, sur "Les guides historiques et l'Ancien Québec," avec vues;

Mr. Harlan I. Smith, on "The end of Mackenzie's overland route to the Pacific"; with illustrations; in the absence of the author, this paper was read by Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee;

M. C. Marius Barbeau, on "Temlaham, an Indian Paradise Lost in northern British Columbia," also with illustrations.

Reports on the activities of the affiliated societies were then presented by their representatives.

Professor Archibald MacMechan while commenting on the work of the Historical Association of Annapolis Royal, and describing some of the interesting features of the local historical museum, extended his review to the origin and growth of historical research in Nova Scotia, particularly in the form of county history.

Messrs. J. C. Sutherland and William Wood spoke on behalf of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, and the commemoration of the society's hundredth anniversary by means of a book entitled "Unique Quebec" and presented to all the members of the Canadian Historical Association on the occasion of its annual meeting.

Judge F. W. Howay spoke on behalf of the British Columbia Historical Association, and mentioned the construction of an Indian village with totem poles in Stanley park and the erection of a monument to the memory of Captain Cook, in Nootka sound;

Professor Leo Harvey, stated that the New Brunswick Historical Society may soon resume its activities, principally through its affiliation with the Natural Science and History Society, and the initiation of a province-wide movement towards the study of local history;

Professor Arthur S. Morton described the recent work of the Saskatchewan Historical Society, and mentioned the existence of four groups within his province whose chief purpose was to collect data on the history of the province, these groups being located in Prince Albert, Saskatoon, Regina, and Battleford;

Professor W. T. Waugh explained that the new Montreal Historical Society, founded by Professor Basil Williams, has been very active in the past year; the interest of its many members has been aroused by means of meetings, lectures, expeditions, and various investigations;

M. Georges Marquis reported on the work of the Société des Arts, Sciences et Lettres de Québec, which consists of a series of from ten

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to fifteen lectures every year and the publication of its monthly magazine "Le Terroir;"

M. M. Boucher de La Bruère stated that the Antiquarian and Numismatic Society was unusually active last winter, that monthly lectures were given as a consequence and special meetings held, that the Chateau de Ramesay collection has been materially increased, and that the city of Montreal has spent on the Chateau itself a fairly large sum for repairs and improvement;

Dr. Coyne spoke of the three anniversaries in which the Elgin Scientific and Historical Institute this year took an active part.

The following resolutions were then brought forward and approved:—

Moved by J. C. Sutherland and seconded by Professor Archibald MacMechan—That the address of the president be enthusiastically supported by the members of this association for its constructive ideas, and that the report of the treasurer be accepted;

Proposé par Montarville Boucher de La Bruère, et secondé par J.-Eugène Corriveau—Que la Société historique du Canada exprime le vœu, après avoir entendu la causerie de M. G. E. Marquis, que les autorités locales, à Québec, prennent tous les moyens à leur disposition pour assurer à la Cité de Champlain la pérennité de son cachet historique, et pour conserver ses édifices et ses monuments d'un autre âge; de plus que les autorités fédérales soient priées de remettre à la Commission des Champs de Bataille nationaux le soin et l'entretien des fortifications qui sont sur le point de tomber en ruine; et que cette résolution soit adressée à qui de droit par le Secrétaire de la Société historique du Canada;

Proposé par Georges Bellerive et secondé par Pemberton Smith—Qu'une croix soit élevée en la mémoire du mouillage des vaisseaux de Jacques Cartier—la Grande Hermine, la Petite Hermine et l'Emérillon—à l'endroit maintenant connu sous le nom de "Mouillage des Anglais," à l'Ile-aux-Coudres;

Moved by Judge F. W. Howay and seconded by Lawrence J. Burpee—That the Dominion Government be requested in the name of this association to consider the advisability of establishing a federal park in the neighbourhood of Bella Coola (British Columbia) to commemorate the expedition of Alexander Mackenzie to the Pacific coast in 1793, the culmination of the long search for an overland route to the sea;

Moved by Professor Archibald MacMechan and seconded by l'abbé Ivanhoë Caron—That the legendary and historical landmarks of the Upper Skena river, as set forth in Mr. Barbeau's paper on *Temlaham, an Indian Paradise Lost*, be suitably commemorated by



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the Federal Government, and that an effort be made to preserve the totem poles and Indian grave-yard villages, particularly on account of their unusual value for tourist purposes;

Moved by J. C. Sutherland and seconded by M. Boucher de La Bruère—That the thanks of the Canadian Historical Association be conveyed to the Department of the Interior, Parks Branch, for the publication of the Annual Report of the Association for 1923;

Moved by Professor W. T. Waugh and seconded by C. M. Barbeau—That this association express its gratitude to the Quebec Literary and Historical Association and to Colonel William Wood for the gift of the interesting *vade-mecum* "Unique Quebec" to its members, and for other marks of courtesy in the course of its annual meeting;

Moved by Colonel William Wood and seconded by J. F. Kenney—That this association wishes to record its sorrow at the death of Mr. E. C. Whitney, one of its life members, which occurred in Ottawa, early in the spring of 1924, and to instruct the secretary to convey its sympathy to his bereaved widow, Mrs. E. C. Whitney, also one of its life members;

Moved by Dr. James Coyne and seconded by P.-Georges Roy—That this association wishes to record its regret at the death of J. Castell Hopkins, Lawrence Fortescue, James Hope, Dr. Otto Klotz, H. C. Mott, and Sir Edmund Walker, whose names appeared on the list of annual members, and that a copy of the motion be forwarded to the bereaved relatives;

Moved by Judge F. W. Howay and seconded by Pemberton Smith—That Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee be re-elected President of the Canadian Historical Association;

Moved by J. C. Sutherland and seconded by M. Boucher de La Bruère—That Dr. A. C. Doughty be elected to the office of Vice-President of this association;

Moved by W. T. Waugh and seconded by Dr. James Coyne—That M. C. Marius Barbeau be re-elected to the office of Secretary-Treasurer;

Moved by A. S. Morton and seconded by G. Marquis—That Mr. J. F. Kenney be elected to the office of English Editor;

Moved by M. Boucher de La Bruère and seconded by J. C. Sutherland—That M. Gustave Lanctot be elected to the office of French Editor;

Moved by Pemberton Smith and seconded by A. S. Morton—That M. Pierre-Georges Roy, of the Provincial Archives, Quebec, Professor George M. Wrong, of the University of Toronto, Professor Chester Martin, of the University of Manitoba, Professor

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## THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

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Archibald MacMechan, of Dalhousie University, Judge F. W. Howay, of the Law Courts, New Westminster, B.C., and Professor Basil Williams, of McGill University, be elected to the office of members of the Council;

Moved by William Wood and seconded by J. C. Sutherland—That Mr. Pemberton Smith, Judge Howay, M. Ægedius Fauteux, Mrs. J. B. Simpson and Professor A. S. Morton constitute the Standing Committee on Historical Landmarks, with power to add to their numbers, the first-named to be chairman;

Moved by Pemberton Smith and seconded by Judge Howay—That Colonel J. F. Cunningham be thanked for his services as auditor in the past year, and be re-elected to the same office;

Proposé par Alphonse Gagnon et secondé par Georges Bellerive—Que les remerciements de cette association soient adressés à ses dignitaires sortant de charge pour l'exercice consciencieux de leurs devoirs pendant l'année qui vient de s'achever;

Judge F. W. Howay then moved that the meeting be adjourned.

C. MARIUS BARBEAU.  
*Secretary.*

MONTCALM

BY

ÆGIDIUS FAUTEUX

La Société Historique du Canada, en choisissant de tenir, cette année, ses assises à Québec, a été, je le crois, heureusement inspirée. La vieille cité de Champlain est à la source même de l'histoire canadienne et il n'est certes pas d'endroit où une société qui se constitue gardienne du passé puisse trouver à son culte pieux un aliment à la fois plus abondant et plus pur. Dans ces murs, il n'est presque pas une pierre à laquelle ne soit encore attaché quelque lambeau d'histoire glorieuse et sur ces dalles le voyageur ne peut pour ainsi dire pas s'aventurer un instant sans qu'au seul bruit de ses pas, il ne parte, du fronton des églises ou du faite des vieux ormes, un bruissement d'ailes qui n'est autre que l'envol émouvant des souvenirs.

Parmi ces souvenirs, il en est deux qui ne se séparent jamais et qui devaient plaire tout particulièrement à la Société Historique canadienne, parce qu'ils symbolisent d'une façon merveilleuse ce dualisme national qu'une destinée singulière a établi chez nous sans nuire à l'unité du Canada et qui, entre autres avantages, a celui d'apparenter à peu près également notre histoire à celle de deux peuples illustres par-dessus tous: la France et l'Angleterre. Ce sont, vous l'avez deviné sans peine, les souvenirs de Wolfe et de Montcalm. Ces deux héros, tombés sur le même champ de bataille, le premier au sein du triomphe et le second au sein de la défaite, ont été ensevelis dans une gloire égale, et, depuis cent soixante-cinq ans, le monde n'a jamais cessé de confondre dans une même et respectueuse admiration et le vainqueur et le vaincu. La Société Historique du Canada a cru qu'il lui seyait de leur rendre à son tour un hommage commun dans cette même ville de Québec qu'ils dominent de toute la hauteur de leur immortel sacrifice.

Une voix autorisée devait vous parler tout à l'heure de Wolfe. Mais l'on vient de nous apprendre qu'une circonstance malheureuse l'en empêche.

J'ai accepté, quoique indigne, de vous parler de Montcalm. Cela est quelque peu téméraire, et j'en conviens. Comme vous tous, je voudrais que l'honorable M. Chapais fût ce soir à ma place. Personne assurément n'est autant qualifié pour célébrer dignement le glorieux vaincu des Plaines d'Abraham que l'intègre biographe qui, par un livre d'une rare érudition et d'une incomparable probité, a si magistralement dissipé les dernières ombres que quelques esprits prévenus laissaient encore planer sur sa mémoire et je n'ai pas besoin de dire que, grâce à sa chaude éloquence, il l'eût fait de façon peut-être plus décisive encore par la voix que par la plume. Malheureusement pour

Montcalm, pour vous et pour moi, il n'était pas possible d'imposer cette tâche à M. Chapais que réclamaient d'autres devoirs et que vous avez vu cette semaine présider avec tant de tact et avec tant d'éclat aux sessions de la Société Royale, et moi-même, engagé pour ainsi dire à sa place, je ne peux que le prendre modestement pour guide.

Je n'oublie pas non plus que je parle à un auditoire québécois qui se souvient et pour qui notre histoire a bien peu de secrets. Comme vous êtes en même temps très courtois, de cette courtoisie d'autrefois dont Québec est encore le refuge dernier, vous vous résignerez donc, comme Montcalm le fit lui-même souvent, à vous laisser apprendre beaucoup de choses que vous savez très bien, par quelqu'un qui les sait assurément moins bien.

Le panégyrique a ses écueils que l'on ne sait pas toujours éviter, l'imagination, nous dit Fléchier, y ayant souvent plus de part que la raison. C'est ainsi que, dans leur enthousiasme mal mesuré, certains prédicateurs s'évertuent à prouver que le saint de leur paroisse est le nec plus ultra des célestes phalanges. Croyez que, pour ma part, je n'ai aucunement l'intention, à propos de Montcalm, d'établir un palmarès de l'histoire canadienne et de faire entre nos héros une distribution de places. Il n'y a d'ailleurs pas de commune mesure qui puisse exactement s'appliquer à la taille morale des grands hommes. Nous avons la fierté de compter le long de notre histoire plusieurs de ces êtres surhumains qui, par leurs exploits diversement héroïques, ont mérité d'entrer de plain-pied dans l'immortalité, mais par cela même qu'ils sont différents, il serait bien inutile de rechercher lequel est le plus grand. Ce que j'oserai dire cependant, c'est que, si certains de nos héros, même parmi les plus glorieux, comme La Salle, d'Iberville et Frontenac, ont laissé paraître des défauts que seule peut réussir à pallier notre admiration pour leur extraordinaire énergie, il y en a, d'autre part, qui ont su joindre à la grandeur de leurs actes une beauté d'âme véritable et qui, à cause de cela, commandent une admiration à peu près sans mélange. Montcalm est de ceux-là, à côté d'un Champlain et d'un Maisonneuve, ces deux paladins dignes des temps d'épopée. Et je veux essayer de l'établir en montrant ce que fut chez Montcalm, premièrement, l'homme et secondement, le soldat.

Louis-Joseph de Montcalm-Gozon, seigneur de Saint-Véran, Candiac, Tournemine, Vestric et baron de Gabriac, naquit le 29 janvier 1712, au château de Candiac, près de Nîmes, mais d'une famille originaire du Rouergue. Il était de la plus ancienne noblesse, se rattachant à une non moindre illustration que Dieudonné de Gozon, le grand-maître de l'ordre de Malte, vainqueur du dragon. Dès sa plus tendre enfance, ses parents le placèrent entre les mains



d'un éducateur assez original du nom de Dumas qui avait imaginé un système nouveau d'enseignement et qui ne rêvait que d'en faire l'expérience *in animâ nobili*. Il ne fallut que sept ans à ce même précepteur pour tuer un frère plus jeune de Montcalm qui, à trente mois, connaissait toutes ses lettres, à trois ans, lisait le français et le latin et à six ans lisait le grec et l'hébreu. Notre héros, qui pouvait mieux se défendre, ayant été entrepris un peu plus âgé, refusa de se soumettre à ce mortel gavage et voici ce qu'il écrivait dès sa seizième année à son père, en réponse aux plaintes découragées de Dumas :

“ Permettez-moi de dire en peu de mots de quoi je me flatte : 1° d'être honnête homme, de bonnes mœurs, brave et bon chrétien ; 2° de lire médiocrement, de savoir les langues grecque et latine aussi bien que la plupart des gens du monde, de posséder les quatre règles de l'arithmétique, d'avoir quelques connaissances de l'histoire, de la géographie et des belles-lettres françaises et latines, du moins l'amour de la justesse d'esprit si je ne l'ai pas, et surtout du goût pour les sciences et les arts que j'ignore ; 3° ce que je mets au-dessus de tout, de l'obéissance, de la docilité et une grande soumission pour vos ordres et ceux de ma chère mère... ; 4° pour venir à ce qui regarde le corps, de faire des armes et monter à cheval autant que mon peu de disposition me le permet. ”

Comme programme d'éducation, ce n'était déjà pas si mal imaginé pour un jeune homme de seize ans. Et le plus remarquable, c'est que Montcalm s'y est absolument tenu. Il fut toute sa vie ce qu'il avait promis : honnête homme, de bonnes mœurs, brave et bon chrétien.

Honnête homme, il le fut certainement, et de toutes manières, aussi bien dans le sens tout à fait spécial où l'entendaient les moralistes du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Pascal, La Bruyère ou Bossuet, que dans le sens plus strict où l'entendent les moralistes d'aujourd'hui.

Au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, l'*honneste* homme était un peu ce qu'avait été le *prudhomme* au temps de saint Louis. L'on avait accoutumé de désigner sous ce nom une habitude d'âme qui, même étymologiquement, dérivait de l'honneur et qui faisait que celui qui l'avait reçue ou conquise répugnait pour ainsi dire instinctivement à toute idée de bassesse et s'élevait au-dessus du vulgaire, tant par le charme des manières que par la culture de l'esprit. Or, Montcalm était par excellence cet être de distinction.

Il avait d'abord, nous l'avons vu, la distinction de la naissance. Quoi qu'on puisse penser aujourd'hui des castes et des privilèges anciens, il n'en est pas moins certain que la fierté des aïeux a souvent été chez les gens de haute race un ferment de grandeur morale, par le

souci même qu'elle leur imposait de ne pas démeriter, et Montcalm était encore de ce temps où la devise si française: Noblesse oblige, n'était pas un vain mot. Un jour, dans une lettre d'un mélancolique abandon, il dit son regret de ne s'être pas fait chevalier de Malte pour devenir grand-maître de l'ordre, mais aussitôt il se reprend, comme s'il avait senti l'inanité du rêve, et il ajoute avec un naïf orgueil tout juste tempéré par une pointe d'ironie: "C'est le sang de Gozon qui coule dans mes veines!" Oui, c'est bien le sang de Gozon qui coule dans les veines de ce chevalier du moyen-âge attardé. Comme son aïeul, il a la passion de la gloire. C'est pour elle qu'il se bat et non pas, comme un reître ou un soudard, pour de l'argent, et si quelques-uns se sont quelquefois scandalisés de l'entendre demander des grâces, ce n'est pas à lui-même qu'il faut s'en prendre, mais à la langue de son temps. La grâce qu'il attend, par exemple, vers 1758, est d'être maréchal de France dans six ans, mais il ne voudra jamais de grâce qu'il ne croira pas avoir méritée. S'il a choisi le métier des armes, ç'a été avec le légitime espoir d'ajouter encore à l'héritage glorieux que lui ont légué ses ancêtres et, avec cette noble ambition au cœur, il n'en a que mieux servi sa patrie.

Comme son aïeul encore, Montcalm a la passion du devoir. Selon un mot d'usage courant dans la langue militaire et dont, à cause de cela peut-être, la sublimité n'est pas assez remarquée, il sert. Il n'examine pas la mission qu'on lui confie, il l'accepte et, une fois qu'il l'a acceptée, il s'y emploie avec toutes ses facultés, avec tout son cœur, avec toute son âme. Et il ne sait pas reculer, surtout s'il y a danger. Après la bataille de Plaisance, où il a été blessé de trois coups de sabre et laissé pour mort sur le terrain, il écrit naïvement à son père: "Si je suis prisonnier et sabré, c'est pour avoir voulu tenir ferme." Mais, dans cet ordre d'idées, je ne sais rien de plus beau dans sa simplicité que le trait suivant que j'emprunte à l'histoire même de la guerre du Canada.

C'était en 1758; après deux ans de mesquins tiraillements, Montcalm n'en pouvait plus. Abreuvé d'avanies de toutes sortes et écœuré des mille petites choses qui l'entouraient, il ne trouvait plus rien qui palliât sa grandissante nostalgie de père et d'époux et il songeait à son retour en France comme à une sorte de libération morale. Sur les entrefaites, les événements se précipitent et Montcalm remporte la triomphale victoire de Carillon. L'occasion lui semble propice, car, après un aussi brillant exploit, personne ne pourra l'accuser de désertion son poste de combat, et il demande aussitôt son rappel. Mais il découvre presque au même moment que le succès de Carillon, si éclatant qu'il soit, n'a causé qu'un désarroi momentané chez un ennemi de plus en plus dangereux, et que, par suite de circonstances aux-

quelles il reste étranger, l'état de la colonie est redevenu plus périlleux que jamais. Alors, le général français n'hésite pas un instant. De la même plume qui demandait son rappel après la glorieuse journée du 8 juillet, il écrit au ministre, le 9 septembre, qu'il n'est plus question de partir et qu'il reste. "Puisque les affaires de la colonie vont mal, dit-il, c'est à moi de tâcher de les réparer et d'en retarder la perte le plus qu'il'sera possible." C'est aussi simple que grand. Lecteur assidu de Plutarque, Montcalm, sans s'en douter, avait la grandeur d'âme de ses héros.

Les mémoires du temps nous apprennent que Montcalm était de taille petite. Tout le monde n'a pas comme votre humble serviteur une raison personnelle d'estimer que ce n'est pas là un irrémédiable défaut, mais il suffira de rappeler que la même particularité a distingué un certain Napoléon qui, quoique petit, n'en fut pas moins un assez grand guerrier. Quoi qu'il en soit, l'on rapporte à ce propos qu'un Huren, voyant pour la première fois le marquis de Montcalm, s'écria: "Ah! que tu es petit!" puis reprit brusquement: "mais je vois dans ton regard la hauteur du chêne et la vivacité des aigles." Je ne sais si l'anecdote est vraie, mais elle mérite de l'être car le fils des bois ne pouvait mieux traduire dans son langage imagé les deux traits caractéristiques que je viens de signaler dans notre héros: sa passion du devoir qui le fait ressembler à un chêne étreignant de ses inébranlables racines le sol où il a été planté, sa passion de la gloire qui le fait ressembler à un aigle volant de ses ailes ambitieuses toujours plus haut.

Montcalm avait aussi la distinction de l'esprit. De nature, il possédait déjà des qualités précieuses, mais parce qu'il n'avait pas consenti, malgré les touchantes objurgations du précepteur Dumas, à suivre son jeune frère dans sa dangereuse vocation d'enfant prodige, il n'en avait pas moins travaillé sérieusement et judicieusement à orner son intelligence. Il n'avait pas simplement ces clartés de tout dont parle Molière et qui suffisaient alors à tout homme de condition par ailleurs intelligent pour faire bonne figure même en un cercle de beaux esprits, il était véritablement un lettré. Ce soldat lisait Thucydide ou Sophocle dans le texte et savait plus de grec et de latin que bien des humanistes de nos jours. Aussi sa correspondance abonde-t-elle en réminiscences classiques de toutes sortes et c'est ce qui en fait le charme si particulier avec la finesse de l'observation et le pittoresque de l'expression.

Et toute sa vie Montcalm a gardé le goût des choses de l'esprit. A Québec ou à Montréal, entre campagnes, pendant que les dirigeants de la colonie et même ses officiers se livrent à une sarabande d'amusements effrénée, il se renferme dans sa chambre et il lit— :



“ Je ne vais nulle part, ou du moins si peu que c'est de même, écrit-il en novembre 1758 à son ami Bourlamaque; les jours impairs, je vais faire une ou deux parties de tri avec mon général; les jours pairs, je lis au coin de mon feu. Aussi ai-je entrepris la lecture du Dictionnaire encyclopédique, en sautant les articles que je ne veux pas savoir.”

Même le pesant et ennuyeux Dictionnaire encyclopédique apparaissait à Montcalm en compagnon plus joyeux que les pantins à la cervelle vidée qui trop souvent l'entouraient.

Doué d'une rare vivacité d'intelligence qu'avaient encore affinée de sérieuses études, Montcalm avait tout ce qu'il fallait pour briller à la cour au milieu des plus délurés talons rouges, s'il en avait eu la disposition et le goût. L'énigmatique Sieur de C. . . , qui n'a jamais pris à son endroit le ton d'un panégyriste, nous apprend “qu'il avait beaucoup d'éducation et une mémoire heureuse et que ses conversations étaient pleines d'esprit et de judicieuses saillies.” Mais, tandis que chez un trop grand nombre d'autres l'éclat de la surface ne fait que voiler la pauvreté désespérante du fond, il se trouvait heureusement que chez lui le brillant s'alliait avec la solidité, et c'est ce qu'avait bien saisi le judicieux abbé de l'Isle-Dieu lorsqu'il écrivait ce qui suit à Mgr de Pontbriand en lui annonçant l'arrivée prochaine en Canada du nouveau général: “J'ai eu nombre de conférences avec M. de Montcalm qui a l'imagination assez vive, par conséquent beaucoup de sagacité et de pénétration et, ce que j'aime le mieux, le flegme (quand il le faut) et le sérieux de la réflexion.”

Mais, peut-être plus encore que la distinction de la naissance et la distinction de l'esprit, Montcalm avait la distinction du cœur, et nous savons tous que c'est par là surtout qu'un homme vaut. Toutes les qualités morales qui inspirent le respect en même temps qu'elles appellent l'affection, il les possédait et à un rare degré: la tendresse, le dévouement, l'esprit de justice et la probité.

On ne peut d'abord nier qu'il fut un tendre. Malgré qu'il eût pris l'habitude de dérober sous un stoïcisme voulu ses sentiments intimes, il n'en laisse pas moins échapper quelquefois, surtout dans sa correspondance avec Bourlamaque, des cris qui nous en font deviner bien long sur la profondeur et sur l'intensité de son affection paternelle. Les nombreuses lettres qu'il a écrites à sa mère ou à sa femme nous en apprendraient assurément là-dessus beaucoup plus encore. Nous ne pouvons trop souhaiter que les Archives fédérales qui en possèdent une copie les mettent bientôt au jour. Le lecteur étonné trouvera un Montcalm nouveau qui n'est pas le moins sympathique ni le moins beau.

Je ne cite qu'un seul trait. On lui annonce un jour rapidement au cours d'une lettre que là-bas, à 1,000 lieues de distance, par delà

l'infranchissable océan, une de ses petites filles est morte, mais on ne lui dit pas laquelle. Et dans son angoisse, il se le demande. "Serait-ce la petite Mariette qui me ressemblait tant?" Il ne devait jamais le savoir ici-bas et il emporta dans sa tombe cette incertitude douloureuse. Ne vous semble-t-il pas que cette courte petite phrase ouvre des horizons immenses sur ce que dut souffrir, dans son cœur, cet époux et ce père que le devoir enchaînait pour un aussi long temps loin d'une famille aimée?

Cette tendresse naturelle qui faisait le fond de son âme, Montcalm ne pouvait manquer de la reporter sur cette autre famille que la Providence lui avait confiée: l'armée. Jamais général ne sut, en effet, vis-à-vis de ses troupes, allier à une discipline plus ferme une plus paternelle bonté. Non seulement il est plein de sollicitude pour ses officiers qu'il protège, et contre autrui lorsqu'ils sont injustement attaqués et contre eux-mêmes, lorsqu'ils s'apprêtent à commettre quelque sottise, mais il a particulièrement à cœur le bien des soldats.

Le 4 juin 1759, il écrit à Bourlamaque: "Assurez bien les troupes et les officiers qui servent sous vos ordres que je serai tout aussi occupé de leur procurer des grâces qu'à ceux qui pourraient combattre sous mes yeux. Je pense comme un père de famille qui aime tous ses enfants; ma conduite jusqu'à présent leur en doit être un sûr garant." Il sait trop la dure condition du soldat et ce que vaut son abnégation même inconsciente pour souffrir qu'il soit en aucune façon injustement traité. C'est ainsi qu'à plusieurs reprises il n'hésite pas à punir sévèrement les officiers qui l'y obligent par leurs injustices envers les troupiers.

D'ailleurs, lorsque la nécessité du service ou les difficultés de l'heure l'obligent à demander à ses soldats quelque nouveau sacrifice, il donne le premier l'exemple, et c'est ce qui fait que tous le suivent avec un si touchant empressement. En campagne, il paye généreusement de sa personne et prend sa large part des fatigues comme du danger. Il n'est pas de ces généraux qui se font porter en litière pendant que les misérables fantassins traînent péniblement leur marche à travers les grands bois. Aux heures critiques il n'abandonne pas son poste un instant et s'il le faut, il reste des semaines entières sanglé et botté. "Je ne me suis pas encore déshabillé depuis le 23 juin", écrit-il à Bourlamaque le 2 septembre 1759. Il ne dut qu'à la mort, onze jour plus tard, de connaître le repos après trois mois de la plus étonnante endurance.

Faut-il, dans un moment de disette, substituer aux autres vivres qui manquent la viande de cheval, Montcalm, avec sa grandeur d'âme coutumière, estime qu'il serait méprisabled'imposer à ses troupes un semblable retranchement sans en prendre sa part. Et le

24 octobre 1757, comme par manière d'invitation discrète à en faire autant, il écrit à Lévis: "Dès qu'on commencera en décembre à donner du cheval au soldat, j'en fais ma provision pour l'hiver et il y en aura toujours chez moi un plat." Et, un peu plus tard, il nous fait connaître le menu suivant de sa table qui n'est pas sans saveur au moins apparente:

Petits pâtés de cheval à l'espagnole.  
Cheval à la mode.  
Escaloppe de cheval.  
Filet de cheval à la broche, avec une poivrade bien liée.  
Semelles de cheval au gratin.  
Langue de cheval au miroton.  
Frigousse de cheval.  
Langue de cheval boucanée.  
Gâteau de cheval, comme les gâteaux de lièvre.

Heureux temps où il suffisait aux gens de cœur d'avoir en même temps de l'esprit pour donner le change à leur appétit mal satisfait en le payant de mots!

Ce rare dévouement et cet esprit de justice de Montcalm avaient leur source dans une probité qui était chez lui innée et à laquelle il n'a jamais failli. Je note ce tout petit fait qui, au point de vue qui nous intéresse, me paraît extrêmement significatif. M. de Lusignan lui ayant appris que c'est sur la foi d'une information erronée qu'il a accusé un jeune lieutenant de Languedoc d'avoir vendu de l'eau-de-vie, Montcalm écrit aussitôt à Bourlamaque: "Je vous prie de le dire à Pascalis parce que je me souviens de lui avoir parlé de l'accusation; je dois le désabuser et lui faire part de la justification, la probité m'y oblige." L'on peut se demander combien de généraux, préoccupés comme Montcalm par tant d'autres embarras plus grands, auraient eu cette délicatesse envers un modeste officier. Mais cet incident n'indique pas seulement chez notre héros un souci honorable de rendre à qui que ce soit la justice qui lui est due, il indique surtout la profonde horreur qu'il avait à tout acte dérogatoire à la stricte probité.

C'est en effet un point sur lequel le général français n'entendit jamais badinage. Un jour, il apprend que deux de ses officiers ont réclamé deux quarts de farine qu'ils disaient leur avoir été donnés par le garde-magasin en remplacement de rations qu'ils n'avaient pas prises: "Vous pensez bien, écrit-il, que le Roi ne fait pas voiturier à grands frais des vivres à Carillon pour que les officiers les fassent refluer d'où ils sont partis; le décompte de l'officier, en argent, des vivres qu'il ne prend pas, n'a été imaginé que pour la conservation des vivres du magasin du roi... Une autre fois, j'enverrai l'officier en prison pour trois mois dans un fort."



Ce moyen détourné qu'employaient les officiers pour rentrer dans ce qui leur était dû après tout, aurait pu ne constituer aux yeux de bien d'autres qu'une irrégularité peu grave, mais Montcalm, dans sa scrupuleuse probité, tenait à honneur que ses régiments ne fussent pas atteints à leur tour par l'esprit de concussion qui avait déjà gangrené presque tout le reste du pays et il se raidissait de toutes ses forces contre la plaie envahissante. C'était le temps où, sous le haut exemple de Bigot, à peu près tous les officiers volaient le roi sans vergogne, où d'impudents spéculateurs touchaient des certificats de 100,000 livres pour à peine 10,000 livres de marchandises qu'ils avaient vendues, où même un simple ramonceur ne cachait pas sa stupéfaction que, dans la maison de Montcalm, on ne voulût pas lui signer un bon pour 24 cheminées alors qu'il n'en avait ramoné que six. Un homme de la conscience de Montcalm ne pouvait être que navré devant ce carnaval honteux de pillage et de rapine. On le sent assez à lire ces quelques lignes qu'il écrivait en novembre 1758:

"Les officiers sont occupés de gain et volent comme des mandarins... C'est de quoi pleurer, et je crois que si la guerre dure, il y a à gagner de la perdre... Pardonnez le désordre de ma lettre, il ressemble à celui de mon imagination, car je n'ai pas dormi toute la nuit des voleries de la Belle Rivière... Pauvre Roi! Pauvre France! Cara patria!"

Et pendant que ceux qui l'entouraient s'enrichissaient scandaleusement, Montcalm lui-même, pour tenir son rang, devait manger son bien. En deux ans, nous apprend-il quelque temps avant sa mort, il a dépensé 57,000 livres de son propre patrimoine et il ne peut s'empêcher de frémir pour l'avenir.

Le plus douloureux, c'était que Montcalm était pratiquement impuissant à enrayer cette corruption qui le navrait. Sous l'impérieuse dictée du devoir, il avait bien tenté à quelques reprises de dessiller les yeux de la Cour qui s'obstinait à ne rien voir, mais il n'avait pu le faire, comme il le dit lui-même, qu'avec la modération nécessaire à quelqu'un qui n'a qu'une autorité subordonnée, dans un département d'ailleurs différent, et qui voudrait le bien sans âcreté ni humeur. Ce sera cependant son éternel honneur d'être resté jusqu'à la fin un des rares îlots de vertu et de probité dans cette mer de corruption dévergoncée que fut malheureusement le Canada dans les dernières années si mélangées de gloire et d'infamie de notre régime français.

Fidèle toujours au beau programme qu'il s'était tracé en son jeune âge, Montcalm fut encore de bonnes mœurs. Sa dignité de vie au Canada particulièrement contraste fortement avec le débraillé général. Sans doute sa situation et son rang l'obligent à se mêler assez souvent

à la société frivole au milieu de laquelle il vit, mais il ne s'y amuse guère. Nous avons vu que lorsqu'il le pouvait, il n'aimait rien mieux que de s'enfermer en sa chambre pour lire ou étudier. A une époque où la colonie va plus mal encore que d'ordinaire, où le peuple gémit et souffre, il est le seul qui a la décence de proposer que, durant tout l'hiver, il n'y ait ni bals, ni violons, ni fêtes, mais il ne fut pas écouté. Ce n'est pas qu'il fut lui-même un empêcheur de danser en rond, car il venait d'un pays où le plus réchauffant des soleils n'a jamais passé pour engendrer la tristesse, et les mémorialistes reconnaissent qu'il possédait, avec une certaine bonhomie et une grande vivacité, une gaieté franche et communicative qui le rendait séduisant au plus haut point. Mais, en même temps, ainsi que l'avait si judicieusement noté l'abbé de l'Isle-Dieu, il avait le sérieux de l'homme qui réfléchit et qui pense. Personne peut-être ne savait mieux que lui sur quel volcan la haute société canadienne dansait sans s'en douter, et il en était quelquefois profondément attristé.

L'on sait, par exemple, l'extraordinaire frénésie de jeu qui s'empara pour ainsi dire de tout le monde pendant les hivers de 1757 et de 1758. C'était l'intendant qui battait la mesure, les tables de jeu se dressaient en permanence et il se perdait chaque soir des sommes folles autour du tapis vert. Montcalm fut un des rares qui ne perdirent pas la tête au milieu de cet étourdissant tourbillon. Il lui arriva bien une fois de céder à l'invitation pressante d'un haut personnage et de perdre quelques louis, mais il se hâta d'expliquer qu'il y a des sociétés qu'il n'est pas toujours possible de refuser. Comme il aurait voulu surtout protéger contre eux-mêmes certains de ses officiers qu'il aimait et qui, emportés par la passion la plus folle, se ruinaient sottement. Mais il n'y réussissait guère et l'on peut voir dans son journal que c'est l'objet d'un de ses plus constants soucis. Lui-même, dans l'effervescence de sa jeunesse, lorsqu'il était caserné dans la ville de Strasbourg, avait failli se laisser emporter par la même frénésie du jeu, mais il s'était vite ressaisi, et c'est alors que pour se raffermir, il se réfugia dans le travail et l'étude, écrivant peu après à son père qu'il venait de dévorer en quelques mois plus de grec qu'il n'en avait auparavant digéré en dix ans.

Je sais bien qu'aux yeux de quelques-uns encore, il plane au moins une ombre légère au-dessus des mœurs de Montcalm. L'abbé Auguste Gosselin, par exemple, lui a reproché avec une sévérité particulière de s'être associé avec certaines femmes frivoles et plus que légères qui faisaient alors la honte de Québec. Personne ne s'y trompe et il s'agit évidemment des trois dames de la rue du Parloir dans la compagnie desquelles notre héros avouait lui-même qu'il prenait peut-être trop de plaisir. Mais d'abord, n'y aurait-il pas un peu trop d'histoire à la Chien d'Or dans ce que nous savons de Mme de Beaubassin, de Mme de Lanaudière et de Mme Péan? Lors même que ces dames n'auraient



pas connu toute l'austérité des matrones romaines, il conviendrait encore de rappeler à la charge de Montcalm cette sage réflexion d'un moraliste: "Si on n'allait que chez les gens que l'on estime absolument, il y a des jours où l'on ne rentrerait même pas chez soi." Tout de même, il est permis de croire que nous ne sommes pas en présence des impudentes pécheresses que l'on a prétendu; Mme de Beaubassin aussi bien que la sémillante Angélique des Méloizes ressemblaient à bien d'autres filles d'Eve de nos jours qui, dans un monde différent, papillonnent autour des mêmes feux de gaieté, sans à la fin y brûler trop de leurs ailes. Ce qui est certain, c'est qu'elles étaient de bonne compagnie, ayant beaucoup de charme et d'esprit, et il faut assurément être bien prude pour reprocher avec persistance à Montcalm de s'être plu quelquefois en leur aimable société. Notre héros n'avait d'ailleurs rien de monacal et l'on ne peut s'étonner que, dans un lointain exil où le retenaient des devoirs aussi rudes que peu consolants, il ait senti de temps à autre le besoin de s'évader du cercle monotone où il était enserré pour s'attarder en la rue du Parloir comme en une oasis de grâce et de beauté. De l'aveu unanime d'ailleurs, rien de tout cela ne l'a jamais empêché d'être aussi bon époux que bon père.

Quant à la bravoure de Montcalm, elle n'a pas besoin, je crois, d'être établie. Il nous fait songer à Chevert, un autre caractère à la Bayard, sous qui il avait servi dans les armées d'Allemagne et pour qui il conserva toujours un culte d'admiration si touchant. Comme Chevert, il était toujours au plus fort du danger, bravant la mitraille avec une insouciance aussi simple qu'héroïque. C'eût été pour lui mentir au sang de Gozon que de courber même la tête au sifflement d'une balle.

Nous avons déjà rappelé comment, pour avoir voulu tenir ferme au milieu du désarroi général, à la bataille de Plaisance en 1746, il fut blessé de trois coups de sabre à la tête. Il venait de se retirer à Montpellier pour se guérir de la terrible blessure qu'il avait reçue, lorsqu'il apprend que son régiment est commandé pour aller attaquer le col de l'Assiette, en Italie. Il ne veut pas qu'on lui dise, comme à un autre Crillon, que l'on a combattu à l'Assiette et qu'il n'y était pas. Ses plaies encore ouvertes ne l'arrêtent pas; il vole où la gloire l'attend, rejoint son régiment la tête enveloppée, se signale à cette attaque meurtrière et y est encore blessé de deux coups de feu. "Jamais, s'écrie l'auteur du *Journal militaire dédié à Monsieur frère du roi*, jamais l'héroïme n'avait pu se distinguer par une intrépidité plus inébranlable, par une constance plus étonnante."

Le Sieur de C... lui-même reconnaît dans ses Mémoires que le marquis de Montcalm a hautement confirmé en Canada la réputation de bravoure qui l'y avait précédé, mais ce témoignage ne nous était

pas nécessaire. Tous savent comme à Carillon, par exemple, il était partout à la fois, cible vivante et miraculeusement épargnée. Dans la chanson que fit après le 8 juillet un fantassin poète plus enthousiaste qu'habile, nous lisons ces deux vers d'une maladresse naïve qui n'en sont pas moins un des plus beaux hommages que puisse attendre un chef de ceux qu'il a menés au combat:

Montcalm, comme défunt Annibal  
S'montrait soldat et général.

N'est-ce pas d'ailleurs à sa bravoure presque téméraire qu'il dût d'être frappé presque au commencement de l'action, le 13 septembre 1759? "La guerre est le tombeau des Montcalm", disait un vieux dicton du Rouergue, le pays d'origine de ses ancêtres. Cette destinée n'était pas pour lui déplaire, car, grand cœur, il était de ceux qui croient qu'il manquera toujours quelque chose à la plus belle vie qui ne finit pas, soit sur un échafaud pour la défense d'un principe, soit sur un champ de bataille pour la défense d'un drapeau. Après avoir courtoisé la mort pendant trente ans, Montcalm devait finalement l'épouser, au milieu d'un nuage de gloire, dans les noces sanglantes de la bataille des Plaines d'Abraham.

Montcalm n'a pas moins bien répondu au dernier article du programme de son adolescence, qui était d'être un bon chrétien.

Chrétien, il le fut, non pas sans doute à la façon des mystiques qui s'élèvent à des hauteurs privilégiées, mais à la façon virile du soldat qui se reconnaît féal à son Dieu plus encore qu'à son roi. Sa foi était profonde et sincère et sa précieuse correspondance nous en fournit maintes preuves. C'est ainsi qu'à la suite d'un deuil douloureux, il écrit à sa femme, en 1744: "Nous avons besoin, ma très chère et bien-aimée, de nous résigner à la volonté de la Providence dans une aussi triste occasion que celle de la perte de mon fils... Dieu n'a pas voulu que cette âme se souillât sur la terre, ce sera un ange de plus devant lui qui priera pour les siens."

Y a-t-il rien, de plus chrétien encore que les sentiments qu'il exprime au lendemain de Carillon, et dans ses lettres et dans la belle inscription composée par lui-même sur une croix:

Quid dux? quid miles? quid strata ingentia ligna?  
En signum! En Victor! Deus hic Deus ipse triumphat.

Chrétien! Ce ne fut point Montcalm et la prudence,  
Ces arbres renversés, tes héros, leurs exploits,  
Qui des Anglais confus ont brisé l'espérance;  
C'est le bras de ton Dieu vainqueur sur cette croix.

Il nous semble entendre saint Louis écrivant à sa mère après une victoire: "Vive Dieu! notre Seigneur s'est montré bon Français!"

Je puis paraître à quelques-uns avoir défendu mon héros avec une ferveur excessive, mais il me semble avoir établi ses titres à notre admiration sur la base solide des faits. Il y a encore, je le sais, des gens qui ne veulent pas que cette admiration soit sans mélange et qui continuent à déplorer dans un si beau caractère la présence de certaines petitesesses, la jalousie par exemple. C'est une question que je ne crains pas d'aborder. Il s'agit, chacun l'a compris, de la lutte regrettable entre Montcalm et Vaudreuil.

Je dirai tout de suite que, si je dois prendre parti contre Vaudreuil, ce n'est pas avec une idée préconçue. Personne ne comprend mieux que moi la vive sympathie dont on a accoutumé d'entourer la figure du dernier gouverneur français du Canada. Il fut faible, sans doute, montrant une confiance presque aveugle à un entourage qui n'en méritait guère, mais cette faiblesse même dérivait d'une grande bonté, et il est certain qu'il n'y eut jamais à la tête de la Nouvelle France un administrateur capable d'un tel dévouement à l'endroit de son peuple. Profondément canadien, il protégeait systématiquement les Canadiens et même les humbles n'invoquaient presque jamais en vain sa paternelle sollicitude. Si c'est là un défaut, quel est celui d'entre nous qui pourrait s'empêcher de le pardonner à deux mains? Il n'y a de plus qu'une voix pour reconnaître que, quoiqu'il ait laissé faire autour de lui, Vaudreuil fut personnellement honnête et ne déméritait pas de son nom. J'ai tenu à dire ces choses, parce que j'estime que Montcalm est assez grand pour n'avoir pas besoin qu'on rapetisse personne à son profit. Il s'est cependant trouvé quelqu'un qui a délibérément entrepris de rapetisser Montcalm au profit de Vaudreuil. J'ai nommé Monsieur l'abbé Casgrain. Ce n'est un secret pour personne que Monsieur Casgrain a pris sous sa protection spéciale Vaudreuil uniquement parce qu'il était Canadien. Autant qu'il l'a pu, et pour cette raison, il a atténué ses fautes, masqué ses faiblesses, voilé ses erreurs. Il me semble que c'est déjà du patriotisme mal placé et bien illogique. Un goujat Canadien — ce n'est pas de Vaudreuil que je parle — est toujours un goujat et si nous découvrons que l'un des nôtres a commis une action déloyale, pourquoi ne le lui dirions-nous pas à sa face, quoique Canadien? Mais il y a plus encore et je comprends toute la gravité de ce que je vais dire. Après avoir taillé des textes qu'il s'était engagé à publier intégralement et textuellement, Monsieur l'abbé Casgrain n'a pas hésité à s'en servir pour laver Vaudreuil de fautes qui pouvaient lui appartenir et pour charger Montcalm de fautes qui ne lui appartenaient certainement pas. Je comprends qu'il y ait quelque pitié à couvrir d'un voile pudique, comme autrefois Japhet, la nudité de quelqu'un que nous aimons, mais la plus élémentaire justice commande que ce



ne soit pas au détriment d'autrui. Par un étrange dédoublement, M. l'abbé Casgrain, qui fut dans sa propre vie extrêmement probe, ne paraît pas avoir connu dans l'histoire cette probité qui en fait seule le prix.

Sans doute, il se peut que Montcalm ne se soit jamais débarrassé complètement de cet esprit métropolitain dont parle Monsieur Chapais et qui, de tout temps, de nos jours comme autrefois, n'a cessé de se heurter à l'esprit colonial, mais il n'est certainement pas juste de le présenter comme un ennemi des Canadiens, après avoir diligemment choisi dans ses lettres un certain nombre de petites phrases parmi les moins aimables à notre adresse. J'ai relu toute la correspondance de Montcalm, avec mes yeux de Canadien qui se flattent d'être aussi patriotes que tous autres, et j'ai pu constater qu'il n'y a presque pas une de ces fameuses petites phrases qui, remises dans leur texte, ne soit pas en quelque façon justifiée par le fait particulier et incontestable auquel elle se rapporte. D'ailleurs, qu'il soit ici et là échappé quelques paroles moins heureuses à l'humeur de Montcalm, dans un moment où sa situation extrêmement compliquée l'aurait plus qu'à l'ordinaire agacé, cela ne devrait pas trop nous étonner. Il me semble toutefois que les lignes suivantes qu'il écrivit à l'honneur des Canadiens et qui apparaissent d'autant plus sincères qu'elles ne furent jamais destinées à tomber sous leurs yeux, devraient suffire à les effacer toutes:—

“Quelle colonie! quel peuple quand on voudra! Quel parti à en tirer pour un Colbert!... Ils ont tous foncièrement de l'esprit et du courage, mais jusqu'à présent rien n'a servi à animer cette machine ni à développer des germes qui existent.”

Il se peut encore que Montcalm n'ait pas toujours su se défendre de certaines vivacités; il était d'un tempérament ardent et, assez souvent piqué, il ne se croyait pas toujours tenu de suivre le conseil évangélique et de tendre la joue gauche à qui venait de le frapper sur la droite. Et ici encore on ne pourra nier que quelques-unes au moins de ses colères étaient fortement provoquées. Je suis sûr, par exemple, que plusieurs d'entre nous auraient joui d'assister à la magistrale exécution qu'il fit un jour de Deschambault. Laissons-le la raconter lui-même: “Je surpris Deschambault, soit bavardage, délation, méchanceté ou basse flatterie, accusant nos officiers de propos indiscrets... sans en nommer aucun. Oh! certes, comme je le surpris, comme on dit, volant dans la poche, il fut obligé, ainsi que le marquis de Vaudreuil acceptant, d'essuyer une leçon sur ce point, forte, respectueuse, longue, les faisant souffrir tous deux, car vis-à-vis de Deschambault qu'elle regardait seul, cela ressemblait à des coups de pied dans le ventre, qu'on a demandé la permission de donner à quelqu'un qui ne peut s'éviter de les recevoir. Je souhaiterais que cela corrigât les rapporteurs et ceux qui les écoutent.”

Voilà pour l'humeur et la vivacité; mais de jalousie, point. Il n'y a encore une fois qu'à relire les admirables lettres de Montcalm pour se rendre compte que ce sentiment était bien au-dessous de celui qui, après avoir recommandé le chevalier de Lévis à son propre grade de maréchal de camp, pouvait écrire à M. de Paulmy: "Au reste, qu'on me fasse ou qu'on ne me fasse pas lieutenant général, même zèle pour le service. . . . et que la considération de ce qui me regarde n'arrête jamais l'avancement des officiers supérieurs qui sont sous mes ordres."

En aucun endroit l'on ne trouvera que Montcalm se soit plaint d'être subordonné à Vaudreuil, quoiqu'il l'estimât avec raison inférieur à lui-même au point de vue militaire. C'est en connaissance de cause qu'il avait accepté de servir en Canada sous les ordres du gouverneur général et il avait trop appris à la grande école de la guerre que pour savoir commander il faut d'abord savoir obéir. Ce dont il avait à se plaindre souvent, et non sans amertume quelquefois, c'était de n'être pas consulté lorsqu'il y avait droit, ou d'être desservi auprès de la Cour par des représentations insidieuses ou perfides. S'il y avait quelqu'un que l'on pourrait en cette affaire suspecter de jalousie, ce serait plutôt Vaudreuil, si l'on s'en rapporte à la lettre qu'il écrivit au ministre le lendemain de la prise de Chouaguen et qui est, il faut bien l'avouer, bien près d'être malhonnête. Il est trop facile d'y deviner celui qui ne veut pas que

quelqu'un fasse une ombre  
Plus grande que la sienne au mur de sa maison.

Lorsque Montcalm se sent menacé dans son honneur ou dans ses droits, il se raidit, et c'est aussi légitime qu'humain. J'admire l'étonnement de ceux qui s'en offensent.

Cet animal est bien méchant;  
Quand on l'attaque, il se défend.

D'ailleurs, il ne faudra jamais oublier l'acte admirable d'abnégation qu'il eut seul la force d'âme d'accomplir lorsqu'il se présenta un jour à Vaudreuil et lui offrit loyalement d'enterrer leurs mutuels différends pour le bien du service et pour celui de la colonie. Après tous ces exemples on peut être assuré que Montcalm n'aurait jamais signé une lettre comme celle que Vaudreuil eut la triste inspiration d'écrire après la mort de son rival et qu'il est impossible de ne pas assimiler à un ignoble piétinement sur un cadavre. Que l'on examine encore une fois les actes aussi bien que les écrits des deux hommes en présence, et l'on n'aura guère de peine à décider à qui ils font le plus d'honneur. Et je ne crains pas d'ajouter qu'à mesure que l'on découvre des documents nouveaux sur cette période à la fois si triste et si glorieuse de la Guerre de Sept Ans, c'est Montcalm qui grandit, et non pas l'autre.



J'ai parlé plus longuement de l'homme en Montcalm, parce qu'il me semblait que c'était sous cet aspect que le grand vaincu des Plaines d'Abraham était encore le moins bien connu. Il me resterait à vous parler du général. Je vous préviens sans retard que j'en parlerai beaucoup plus brièvement. Il en naîtra un défaut trop certain d'équilibre entre les parties de ce travail auquel je m'excuse d'ailleurs de n'avoir pu donner tout le temps nécessaire, mais vous voudrez bien l'expliquer par un souci louable de ne pas vous retenir ici trop longtemps. C'est en outre une cause d'avance gagnée, car il n'y a guère qu'une voix pour saluer en Montcalm un grand général, en dépit même de son dernier et fatal insuccès.

Ce que le héros de Québec a pu accomplir en trois ans, au milieu des plus inextricables difficultés, est véritablement extraordinaire. Il y a, en effet, peu d'exemples d'un général qui, appelé à une aussi difficile mission, ait été soumis à autant d'handicaps, suivant un mot anglais fort expressif et qui n'est pas facilement traduisible.

Choisi à cause de ses talents militaires, pour prévenir la perte de la colonie en péril, il n'en est pas moins subordonné au gouverneur général qui garde en tous points le commandement suprême des troupes de terre et de mer et qui ne manque pas une occasion de l'exercer. Comme il le dit lui-même, son rôle se borne à remontrer, proposer, éclairer, instruire de son mieux, et, après avoir fait le dû de sa charge, il ne lui reste qu'à attendre avec tranquillité l'éloge ou le blâme, en se retranchant derrière la belle devise de ses armes: "Mon innocence est ma forteresse." Malheureusement, on ne lui permet même pas de proposer, d'éclairer et d'instruire. Assez souvent, les opérations les plus délicates et les plus graves sont décidées sans sa participation. Il n'y a pas jusqu'à la noble ingérente marquise de Vaudreuil qui ne se mêle quelquefois des affaires de la guerre. Nous savons tous comment le bouillant général s'y prit pour la rembarrer poliment mais fermement en une semblable circonstance. C'était au cours d'une discussion avec LeMercier." La conversation finit de ma part, raconte-t-il lui-même; Mme de Vaudreuil voulut s'y mêler. "Madame, " permettez que sans sortir du respect qui vous est dû, j'aie l'honneur " vous dire que les dames ne doivent parler guerre."

— Elle voulut continuer. — "Madame, sans sortir du respect " qui vous est dû, j'ai l'honneur de vous dire que si Mme de Montcalm était ici et qu'elle nous entendît parler guerre avec M. de Vaudreuil, elle garderait le silence."

Il arrivait aussi quelquefois que Montcalm recevait des instructions d'une puérilité déconcertante, comme lorsqu'on donne un tom-bour à un enfant avec la recommandation de ne pas faire de bruit. En d'autres temps, les instructions semblaient, à s'y méprendre, froidement calculées pour rejeter tout le blâme sur l'exécutant,

advenant l'insuccès. Ce fut le cas en particulier des ordres donnés par Vaudreuil avant Carillon. Après un insidieux préambule, où il déclarait faussement s'être préalablement entendu avec lui sur toutes les choses de la colonie, Vaudreuil continuait en donnant à son général les instructions les plus vagues et en lui observant qu'il ne devrait aller au-devant de l'ennemi que lorsqu'il se croirait assuré de vaincre. Montcalm, justement indigné, lui fit tenir immédiatement le billet qui suit :

“ C'est bien assez que je me charge, dans des circonstances qui peuvent être aussi critiques, de défendre, autant qu'il me sera possible, la frontière du lac Saint-Sacrement, avec 4,000 hommes contre des forces très supérieures, sans me charger d'une instruction dont les obscurités et les contradictions sembleraient me rendre responsable des événements qui peuvent arriver et que nous devons prévoir. Je rends justice à la droiture de vos intentions, mais je ne saurais partir que vous ne m'ayez remis une instruction avec tous les changements aussi nécessaires qu'indispensables pour conserver la réputation d'un général qui a servi avec autant de zèle pour votre propre gloire et pour la défense de cette colonie.”

Devant cette volonté redressée, Vaudreuil dut céder et il signa une instruction dictée par Montcalm lui-même.

Dans de semblables conditions, où il était impossible à un général de donner libre cours à son propre génie, l'on comprend que la conduite de la guerre ait été trop souvent vacillante. Personne ne peut avoir oublié le changement merveilleux qui s'opéra du jour au lendemain, en 1918, dans le cours jusque-là si capricieux de la dernière grande guerre, lorsque les chefs britanniques, belges et italiens, mettant enfin de côté leurs naturelles susceptibilités nationales, eurent consenti à remettre entre les mains de Foch le commandement suprême. Il n'y avait qu'à assurer à Montcalm l'unité de commandement en 1758 ou 1759 et le Canada était plus que probablement sauvé.

Un autre grand embarras de Montcalm était l'extrême pénurie de secours qu'il recevait de la métropole. En dépit de ses appels les plus pressants, on le laissait sans vivres, sans munitions, sans armes, avec une douzaine de mille hommes tout au plus pour faire face à une invasion qui s'annonçait de jour en jour plus formidable. Et là-dessus, il fallait compter les Sauvages dont Montbeillard a dit avec infiniment de raison qu'ils n'étaient guère bons qu'à ne pas les avoir contre soi, et les miliciens du pays qui, n'étant guère habitués qu'aux escarmouches rapides et aux coups qui se frappent vite pour

rentrer ensuite chez soi, ne pouvaient, à cause de leur absence complète de discipline, et malgré leur incontestable bravoure, être d'une bienfaisante efficacité dans une guerre que les circonstances nouvelles faisaient de plus en plus semblable à la guerre européenne.

Malgré tous ces obstacles, Montcalm ne faillit pas à la tâche. Quoique, dans la jeune impertinence de ses 33 ans, Wolfe l'ait appelé quelque part dans une lettre à sa mère, "le vieux rusé", il n'avait encore que quarante-quatre ans lorsqu'il vint au Canada. Il était alors dans toute la force de son génie, et l'on est en droit de se demander ce que, laissé à lui-même, il aurait pu accomplir, lorsqu'on se souvient que, n'ayant jamais commandé avant sa venue au Canada, il a rempli son vrai rôle historique en 3 ans, et que ces 3 ans ont suffi pour le placer parmi les premiers généraux de son temps. Montcalm savait merveilleusement s'adapter aux circonstances, et sur le lieu du combat, il ne se croyait heureusement jamais lié par des ordres qui lui étaient donnés à 80 lieues de distance. Jusqu'à la bataille des Plaines, dont on ne saura peut-être jamais exactement si elle ne fut pas volée par une fatale conspiration d'événements, il n'avait pas connu un seul insuccès. Chouaguen, Fort George et Carillon, telles sont les glorieuses étapes de sa brillante carrière, et chacune de ces victoires est bien à lui. Sans doute, la capture d'Oswego, la prise du Fort George, la bataille de Carillon paraissent des affaires bien petites, lorsqu'on les compare aux monstrueux engagements de nos jours où des millions d'hommes évoluent à la fois, mais elles n'en furent pas moins à leur manière de grands actes de guerre et il n'y a qu'à en juger par l'énorme retentissement qu'elles eurent en leur temps.

En 1756, Montcalm reçoit l'ordre de prendre Oswego ou Chouaguen. Il sait trop que l'entreprise n'est pas aussi facile que le croit M. de Vaudreuil, mais il est soldat, il obéit, et quinze jours plus tard, il a pris Chouaguen. Et aussitôt il arrive ce qui ne s'était peut-être jamais vu: un général s'excusant de sa victoire. Montcalm en effet écrivit au ministre qu'aux yeux de l'Europe cela apparaîtra sûrement une folle témérité d'attaquer 1,800 hommes fortifiés avec 3,000 hommes et une artillerie inférieure, mais, avec une naïveté presque sublime, il promet qu'en Europe il se conduira sous des principes différents.

Je ne m'arrêterai pas à la prise de William Henry qui n'en fut pas moins un exploit éclatant et dont on sait que Montcalm fut totalement étranger au trop affreux corollaire qui la suivit.

Même de la bataille de Carillon, je ne veux parler que brièvement, car tout a été dit déjà sur cette immortelle victoire. Cet incomparable exploit de 3,000 français et Canadiens battant 15,000 des meilleures



troupes d'Angleterre ne pouvait être dû qu'à une stratégie supérieure et M. Santai l'a démontré avec une lucidité merveilleuse dans la remarquable étude militaire qu'il y a consacrée. Deux jours avant la bataille, le 6 juillet 1758, Montcalm écrivait à Vaudreuil: "Si les Anglais me donnent le temps de gagner les positions que j'ai choisies sur les hauteurs de Carillon, je les battrai." Et ainsi fut fait. Le triomphe du 8 juillet 1758 ne fut pas simplement l'effet d'un hasard heureux; il est dû au génie militaire de Montcalm, plus encore qu'à la valeur pourtant incontestable de ses troupes.

J'en viens enfin à la bataille des Plaines d'Abraham. C'est là que Montcalm devait verser pour son drapeau la dernière goutte de ce sang de Gozon dont il était si fier. Quoique enseveli dans sa défaite, il n'y apparaît pas moins grand aux yeux de l'histoire que son illustre rival enseveli en même temps que lui dans sa victoire. Tous deux étaient de grands cœurs et ils étaient dignes de croiser le fer ensemble. A l'un la destinée fut propice, à l'autre elle fut marâtre, et c'est tout.

Mais non, il paraît que ce n'est pas tout. L'on a beaucoup discuté et l'on discute encore pour savoir qui a perdu la bataille du 13 septembre, Montcalm ou Vaudreuil. Je veux bien pour ma part que ce soit Montcalm, puisque c'est lui qui la livra. Mais que le héros français l'ait perdue par sa faute et par son aveuglement, voilà à quoi je ne puis consentir et que l'on me permettra de dire qui n'est pas prouvé. Toujours à la suite de M. l'abbé Casgrain, quelques-uns soutiennent que, pour n'avoir pas écouté le sage Vaudreuil, Montcalm, après avoir commis une première faute en ne prévenant pas le débarquement de l'Anse au Foulon, en commit une autre plus grande encore en engageant la bataille avec une précipitation malheureuse.

Au premier point, il faut attendre, s'ils existent, les documents que nous ne possédons pas encore et qui diront de façon sûre qui, de Vaudreuil ou de Montcalm, a empêché le régiment de Guyenne de se porter au moment fatidique dans l'Anse au Foulon.

Au second point, nous avons le jugement de plusieurs grands hommes de guerre qui vaut bien celui de nos stratégestes en chambre et qui prononce que, dans les circonstances où il était placé, le général français a fait ce qu'il devait.

Il est trop évident que du prétendu aveuglement de Montcalm, l'on a d'abord fait une thèse, quitte ensuite à la prouver *per fas et nefas*. Or, comme l'écrit quelque part, avec beaucoup de justesse, M. l'abbé Camille Roy, "Il est dangereux de faire des thèses en histoire. Celui qui s'y emploie s'expose à manipuler maladroitement les pièces d'information, à fausser son regard, à colorer de ses préjugés les œuvres et les choses, et à n'apercevoir que ce qui peut servir son

dessein." Ce n'est pas autre chose au fond que ce que dit Bossuet; "Le plus grand dérèglement de la raison est de croire que les choses sont parce qu'on veut qu'elles soient."

En somme, Mesdames et Messieurs, nous avons toutes les raisons de dire avec un de ses biographes que s'il est une figure à qui le jour de l'histoire est favorable, c'est sans contredit celle de Montcalm. Saluons donc bien haut la mémoire de celui que je me crois en droit d'appeler le Turenne de la Nouvelle France, puisque, comme Turenne, il fut un guerrier valeureux et génial, puisque comme lui il obtint la suprême consécration de la mort sur un champ de bataille, puisque comme lui enfin, d'après le mot de Montecuculli, il a mérité d'être placé au nombre des hommes qui font honneur à l'homme. Personne en effet ne nous fait mieux admirer jusqu'au bout

L'accord d'un beau talent dans un beau caractère.

Aucun Canadien d'ailleurs n'a le droit de marchander son admiration à Montcalm. Quoique né Français, il nous appartient à un titre encore plus haut que celui de la naissance. C'est ici, aux Ursulines, qu'il repose dans le trou de bombe que la Providence, par une dernière et gracieuse attention, a semblé lui ménager comme la seule fosse digne d'un tel guerrier; notre sol pour lequel il est mort le garde et le gardera toujours.



THE STUDY OF LOCAL HISTORY

BY

W. H. ATHERTON

This is not a "paper" proper; it is a peg on which to hang contributions for a subsequent discussion, for which this is a note of invitation. The subject is styled "The Study of local History and the means to promote the study and recording of such."

The title is long, but I hope of no small value in its suggestiveness.

(1) As to the value of the study of local history, there can be no doubt that "*petite histoire*" is the foundation of our large history and, in its own sphere, it is perfect. If the yolk of an egg could write its history this would be confined to the inside of the shell, but it would be adequate for a yolk. "O God," said Hamlet, "I could be bounded in a nut-shell and count myself a king of infinite space were it not that I have had dreams." The entourage of a village, a house, a town, a city can be sufficient material for such valuable historical research. How many of us have, through that inquisitiveness which is the fertile mother of history, been led by the intensive study of a very limited district, further afield, till as years advance, we have Pisgah sights of regions which we shall never be allowed to explore.

(2) As to the opportunity of the student of local history in Canada to produce original work, this is indeed a vast one. In the older countries, centuries of chroniclers have spent themselves so that comparatively speaking, original first-hand research is difficult; but not so in the virgin literary fields in Canada. Here we have but scratched the surface of some corners. It is to the credit of the province of Quebec that it has been the best scratched so far owing to the patriotic school of researchers of "*Les petites choses d'histoire*", but even here, there are numerous and deep mines for generations yet to investigate. The historical groups of our earlier cities have certainly been an inspiration to others following them in the other provinces, but it seems to me that it is now the peculiar function of the Canadian Historical Society to promote this birth of new groups in our ever growing country, where history is now in the making; new posts, villages and towns arising day by day and spots where hitherto no white man ever settled. Our country has become the home of many and varied people of European origin who are the heirs of the traditions and customs that will enrich our social life.

The chronicling of the foundations, the coming of such peoples, the narration of the racial and credal origins of the first pioneers,

the searches into the past history of their neighbourhoods, the study of aboriginal remains or traces, all of these are worthy of encouragement. Would that in each spot, however populated, we could persuade a few earnest students to come together—they need not be learned scholars—communicate their historical or antiquarian researches, put them on paper, even if the printing of them has to be delayed for years or even if they only serve in their manuscript form for consultation by some lucky savant.

How valuable are the “relations des Jesuites”, but what are they but letters written in the silent forests or squalid wigwam, descriptive of the places they visited and the tribes they dwelt with. What a light the copy-books of the “journal des Jesuites”, a mere casual diary, not regularly kept, shed on the early days of New France. How valuable such slight documents are! So will be the simplest even of the records I would encourage. I suppose that there must be stored away, often forgotten or hidden in the far-away places of Canada, many such diaries of the first explorers and settlers of some of our early and even recent town sites or colonies, which if collected by some local groups would be the basis of the manuscript section of the archives of many an antiquarian society of some future note. If these groups could be linked by communication with the Canadian Historical Society, what a contribution would be made to our historical archives. What a source of inspiration opened to our *littérateurs* and romance-writers.

(3) As to formal histories of our more important cities and regions, now is the opportunity for the painstaking local historian to get on to the book shelves of libraries for years to come—to be the first historian of his burgh—an unremunerative and humble aspiration, but still a valuable one for the future of our History of Canada in general.

It seems to me that our Canadian Historical Society has a great mission in fostering all forms of local history, traditional folklore songs, and the like. We are not to be a literary society to meet once a year, to hear a few eminent historians displaying their learning. We have to be practical. All the year round we have to encourage the spirit of historical research and we are to scatter the seeds of stimulation here, there and everywhere, for in the most unlikely places the harvest may be greatest.

(4) In general, may I remark, that the hour is now propitious for the impulse which our society is looked upon to launch. The Parkman celebration promoted by our first president is perhaps the first outstanding indication of what organized effort can do. Again, the recent but now universal movement in Canada to record by monument, wayside cairns, the landmarks of our country's romantic

story—a movement which we have inherited from the society to whose heritage we have succeeded—is a further proof of the fertile soil we are still further called upon to till and prepare for richer and more abundant and more varied crops. In fine, we must not rest till we have made every nook of Canada red hot with the burning glow of enthusiasm which is fed by the zeal of the priests and votaries of their historical muse.

With this brief and slight introduction to the discussion which I have proposed, may I hope that practical suggestions may yet be the outcome of it. If we desire our immigrants to become loyal Canadians, they must be rooted to the soil through love of its traditions and its storied past. A knowledge of local history is in this propaganda a most useful and intellectual arm in the plan of Canadianization. If I have any reason to explain my own devotion to Canada, it is due to the good luck which threw me at once on my arrival with a group collecting the local history of the earliest missions of northern Alberta. My abiding citizenship as well as my interest in the broad history of Canada started thus; so much so that I realize the truth of the verses:—

*“Qui manet in patria et patriam cognoscere temnit  
In mihi non civis, sed peregrinus erit.”*

which I may doggerelize thus:—

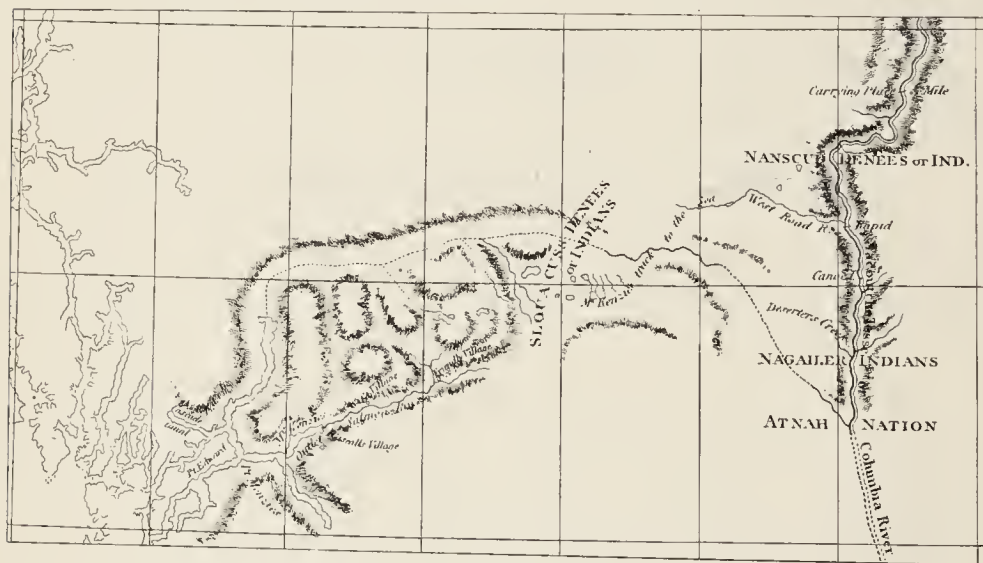
*“Who staying in a country, its story scorns to know,  
To me, such is no citizen, but passer-by, I trow.”*

# THE END OF ALEXANDER MACKENZIE'S TRIP TO THE PACIFIC

BY

HARLAN I. SMITH

Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the first white man to reach the Pacific coast of Canada over land, came down from the high plateau between the Fraser river and the Pacific ocean and reached the Bella Coola river at a Bellacoola Indian village called Nûtléig, which he shows on his map published in 1801 as Friendly Village (fig. 1) (Lantern Slide). I visited the site of this place in 1920 and again in 1922. It is on the north side of Bella Coola river immediately above, that is to the east of, the mouth of Kahylktst river. This is about 31 miles from the sea by the present-day wagon road. It is something less than a mile down the Kahylktst river from the bridge on this wagon road, locally known as Burnt Bridge. The maps show the post office of Firvale, a mile or so down the road from this place, but this consists of only two or three frontier farms.



Map of portion of Mackenzie's route to the sea.

The site of the old Bellacoola village appears to have been covered by sediments from the rivers, or to have been pretty well washed away, probably the latter. There are, however, slight signs that this place had been inhabited by Indians recently. In fact the Bellacoola Indians of this valley, who are now concentrated on their reserve at the mouth of the river, are still represented near this



old village for a week or so each season by a few individuals who go there to pick berries. On this old site are also the remains of one of the very earliest white men's cabins of the whole region.

The present day wagon road extends from the sea to Stūih at the junction of the Atnarko and Talchako rivers, that is 42 miles from the salt water or about 11 miles above this old site. From Stūih and from various places along the wagon road, there are trails leading up on to the high plateau. Indians come over these trails and down the Bella Coola valley to the town of Bella Coola once or twice a year to secure their winter's supplies. It is not uncommon for them to come as far as 150 and 200 miles, and it is said that before the Grand Trunk Pacific was put through that they came here for supplies from as far as the Peace River country. This is the best travelled route for horses from the interior to the Pacific coast of Canada. There is no wagon road from the interior of Canada to its western coast. The one or two other trails which reach the Pacific coast of Canada are abandoned, or very little travelled, badly grown up, and are not used because they do not lead to a source of supplies.

It will be remembered that Mackenzie continued down the river, stopping at a village on the north side, which he describes and shows on his map as Gt. Village. I visited the site of this village in 1922. It is known to the Indians as Nūsk.'Elst, and is on the upper or eastern side of the mouth of Tsatleanootz river. The humpback salmon ascend this river in great numbers. The site is about three miles below the Canoe Crossing bridge, or approximately two miles below Canoe Crossing. It is nearly in line with the highest peak of the mountains through which the Bella Coola river here breaks from the rather dry interior to the sea coast. Floods have eroded the débris from parts of this old village which appears in places to reach a depth of three or four feet. There were still living in 1923 Bellacoola Indians who talked of the days when this village was abandoned, although they may not have been present themselves.

The village, indicated by Mackenzie on his map as Rascalls village, on the south side of Bella Coola river near its mouth, is still inhabited, and part of the site is included in the Indian reservation. Part of it is on private property. It is about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles south of the present Bella Coola townsite. Here it was that Mackenzie finally reached the sea and embarked for a short canoe trip down the inlets.

About two miles south of the townsite, where the flat bottomlands of the valley reach the base of the very steep mountains, a small stream comes out of the mountains from the south, and here is a waterfall of considerable charm. On the west side of this fall,

bathed by its spray at certain times, is a shelf in the rock wall of the canyon (figs. 2 and 3). This is three or four feet wide by something over twenty feet long. On the back of it, and on its floor, are petroglyphs bruised into the rocks by the Bellacoola Indians of long ago. Plaster of Paris moulds of these petroglyphs have been made and deposited in the National Museum of Canada. This was a secret meeting place for a certain organization of the Indians. It is of such romantic interest and there are such weird stories about it, that, taken together with its natural beauty, and the petroglyphs, it would seem to be well worth setting aside as an historic landmark of interest to tourists.

Three miles above here, in the Bella Coola valley, another stream enters the river from the south. Where this stream comes out of the mountains and strikes the bottomland is a canyon at least seventy feet deep. This point is about one mile south of the Bella Coola river and the present wagon road. Here on the western side of this canyon are a number of outcrops bearing an extensive series of petroglyphs bruised into the rocks by the Bellacoola Indians of long ago. Plaster of Paris moulds of some of these have also been made for the museum. These petroglyphs, also, are in a place which in its present condition is of great natural beauty. The pictures are said to have been made by a family while secretly singing its sacred songs. This site is also well worth preservation as a national historic monument.

It is easy enough to give directions so that people may visit such sites. In fact, the above locations are sufficiently accurate for anyone wishing to visit these petroglyphs, but in this new country it is more difficult to give their legal location, and this would probably require the services of a surveyor.

From the mouth of the Bella Coola, Mackenzie and his party travelled by canoe down North Bentinck arm, and as they passed the entrance to South Bentinck arm they saw to the south in this arm the little island (fig. 4) known to the Indians as Kinkilst and marked as King island on one of the maps, but which must be distinguished from the large King island which lies to the west of Labouchere channel.

I have proposed that a strip of country, approximately seventy miles long east and west by some twenty miles wide north and south, be set aside as a great out-of-doors museum for the conservation and sanctuary of wild life, both animal and plant, for the preservation of Indian petroglyphs and other historic sites—all this to be a national monument to Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the first white man to reach the Pacific coast of Canada overland. This area lies immediately to the south of the Bella Coola valley, and is as yet unsurveyed, its

title still being in the Crown. This being the case, it would be unnecessary to go to any expense to have the park established. The area has in it many glaciers and innumerable waterfalls. Practically all of it is high land, which will never be of use for agricultural purposes. With the possible exception of the eastern part, it lies in an area which the geologists indicate is not likely to be valuable for its minerals, and much of it is above timber line. Like a great monument, in some places over 10,000 feet high, it overlooks the spot where the first white man to cross Canada reached the sea, and it in turn with its lofty peaks was seen by him as he came down the valley and embarked on the waters of the Pacific.



Kinkilst island, the Pacific coast island mentioned by Mackenzie.

Continuing on from the mouth of South Bentinck arm, Mackenzie turned through Labouchere channel and westward to a point near Elcho harbour. This is perhaps fifteen miles up Dean channel eastward from Cousins inlet, the location of the present town of Ocean Falls, which is the chief stopping place of the boats between Vancouver and Prince Rupert. In other words, where Mackenzie ended his westward journey and turned back towards his home land is only fifteen miles from Ocean Falls where some seven or eight passenger steamers land per week, so that this whole region is now accessible to historians and tourists.

On the eastern side of the entrance of Elcho harbour is a little rock promontory. Here I found refuse of an ancient village pretty well covering the entire promontory, and, without making use of suitable tools, discovered that this refuse reached the depth of at least 18 inches. I was told by the Bellacoola Indians that this promontory



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## THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

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had been fortified with a high strong wall of logs. The natural steepness of its shores would largely protect it without such a wall. The Bellacoola Indians told me that there had been about four houses within this enclosure and that its entrance leading from the land was closed at night. They also said that on the land were a few other houses.



Petrolyph at Elcho Harbour, B.C.

In a small bay between this rocky promontory and the eastern shore of Elcho harbour is a beach where the people could have pulled up their canoes, and on this beach are two rocks bearing petroglyphs. These rocks are washed by the high tide. The Indians say there are burial caves in the cliff back from the promontory. This promontory is a noticeable feature to the observant tourist who may be passing on Dean channel to or from Ocean Falls, because since the Indians have lived here no heavy timber has grown on the old village site, and so it is grown up with nettles and other vegetation which shows



at a great distance as a much lighter green than that of the evergreen forest.

The Indians say that this fortified point and its accompanying mainland habitations were the home of Bella Bella Indians, a people entirely different in language from the Bellacoolas. It is my present belief that it was the people of this Bella Bella settlement that are referred to by Mackenzie and that his party dreaded to meet at the time when they started on their homeward journey. This land also being of little or no value, the fort and petroglyphs might well be preserved as a national monument.

A short distance to the west along the north side of Dean channel are two places where the Indians have painted with red upon the cliffs rising from the sea, but no one has yet been able to discover the painting which Mackenzie states he put upon the rocks. This painting may have weathered away, or as the Indians say it may have been destroyed by forest fire.

The Bellacoola Indians still tell of Mackenzie's trip through the valley as their first sight of white men. A few of their statements may be from information absorbed by their later generations from discussions with white men. But much of what they say is surely from the pure Indian viewpoint, and in general corresponds with Mackenzie's account.

If my suggestion to establish Mackenzie park is carried out, visitors to the region will soon find there are many delightful and interesting side trips which may be taken from the vicinity of the park to such places as the historic sites above mentioned and to many beautiful natural features. They may in fact well spend many months in the Bella Coola valley viewing the beauties of the park without ever going up into it, and they will find in the eastern portion of the area at least that the usual objection to the rainy weather of the Pacific coast cannot be entertained. In fact the entire park area is dry during the summer months. It is free from violent storms and mosquitoes.

When the profits to Canada from the money spent by foreign tourists in visiting this area are sufficient, the roadway up the Bella Coola valley might be improved throughout its length and continued about fifty miles to connect it with the automobile road to the east and thus make this area accessible from the Caribou Road, and eventually from the Pacific states and the east. This road up the Bella Coola valley, which might appropriately be called Mackenzie highway, follows practically the route of the great explorer. In fact the width of the valley would not allow it to depart more than a mile or so from his route down the valley. Motor boats and Norwegian fishing boats make the great explorer's sea route easily accessible to visitors.

LES DÉBUTS DU CHRISTIANISME EN LOUISIANE <sup>1</sup>

BY

GUSTAVE LANCTÔT

I

Les missionnaires qui accompagnaient Cavelier de la Salle dans son expédition de 1684-87 ont-ils établi le catholicisme au Texas? A cette question, qui ne peut manquer d'intéresser et le curieux et l'érudit, l'histoire documentaire et géographique répond par une affirmation absolue.

De fait, c'est en 1682 que le christianisme pénétra en Louisiane française. Le 7 avril de cette année, portant commission du roi,<sup>2</sup> La Salle, accompagné du père récollet, Zénobe Membré, de vingt-deux français et de dix-huit Sauvages, atteignait l'embouchure du Mississipi.<sup>3</sup>

Tout le monde étant sous les armes, La Salle dressa un poteau fait d'un arbre équarri auquel on avait attaché les armes de France façonnées avec le cuivre d'une chaudière.<sup>4</sup> Sous les armes était l'inscription: "Louis le Grand, Roy de France et de Navarre règne le 9e avril 1682".

On chanta le *Te Deum*, l'*Exaudiat*, le *Domine salvum fac regem*. On tira "des salves de mousqueterie, et les Français crièrent: Vive le Roy!"<sup>5</sup>

A haute voix, commission en main, La Salle déclara prendre, au nom de Louis le Grand, possession du pays de la Louisiane, comprenant tous les territoires depuis l'embouchure de l'Ohio, du côté de l'est, et le long du fleuve Mississipi depuis sa naissance jusqu'à son embouchure dans le golfe du Mexique, et de là jusqu'à la rivière des Palmes du côté de l'ouest. Au pied du poteau, on enterra une plaque de plomb, gravée d'un côté des armes de France avec cette inscription: "*Ludovicus Magnus regnat nono aprilis 1682*" et de l'autre: "*Robertus Cavelier, cum domino de Tonty, legato, R. P. Zenobio Membre, Recollecto, et viginti Gallis, primus hoc flumend, inde ab Ilineorum pago enavigavit, ejusque ostium fecit pervium non aprilis anni 1682.*"<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> La présente étude se rapportant à une colonie française, l'auteur a naturellement adopté la ligne frontière réclamée par la France, sans discuter les prétentions contraires des Anglais et des Espagnols. Il ne faut pas oublier ce point très important en lisant ce travail.

<sup>2</sup> Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale, 1614-1698, Mémoires et Documents inédits*, Paris, 1879, vol. I, Permission au sieur de la Salle de découvrir la partie occidentale de la Nouvelle-France, 12 mai 1678, p. 337.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.* vol. II, Procès-verbal de prise de possession de la Louisiane à l'embouchure de la mer ou golfe du Mexique, 9 avril 1682, pp. 191-2.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.* vol. I, Récit de Nicolas de la Salle, 1682, p. 562.

<sup>5</sup> Margry, *Découvertes*, vol. II, Procès-verbal de prise de possession de la Louisiane, à l'embouchure de la mer ou golfe du Mexique, 9 avril 1682, pp. 190-191.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.* pp. 191-192.

Ensuite La Salle déclara que le roi de France, "comme fils aîné de l'Eglise, n'acqueroit point de pays à sa couronne où son principal soin ne tendist à y établir la religion chrétienne, il falloit en planter la marque en celui-ci." Là-dessus, il érigea une croix qu'on avait préparée, et devant laquelle on chanta le *Vexila Regis* et le *Domine salvum fac regem*.<sup>1</sup>

Le pays qui devenait ainsi terre française et catholique englobait dans ses limites tout le Texas actuel.

A son retour en France, le découvreur se rendit sans tarder à Versailles. "M. le Marquis de Seignelay l'a fort écouté. Le Roy l'a très bien reçu."<sup>2</sup> Il expliqua si bien son projet de coloniser les nouvelles terres que Louis XIV le nomma par commission, en avril 1684, commandant de toute la Louisiane, avec mission d'assujettir les nations sauvages et de "leur porter les lumières de la foy et de l'évangile." Et sa commission lui donnait pleine autorité sur tous les pays, "depuis le fort Saint Louis sur la rivière des Isinois jusqu'à la Nouvelle Biscaye."<sup>3</sup>

L'expédition quitta La Rochelle, le 24 juillet 1684, forte de quatre vaisseaux.<sup>4</sup> Après une escale à Saint-Domingue, la petite flotte, dépassant — sans l'apercevoir — le delta du Mississippi, vint jeter l'ancre, le 6 janvier 1685, en face de la baie Saint-Bernard, que La Salle nomma baie Saint-Louis.<sup>5</sup> C'est aujourd'hui la baie Matagorda, sur le littoral du Texas.<sup>6</sup> Décontenancé de ne pas trouver le fleuve qu'il cherchait, La Salle, après quelques hésitations, débarqua sa petite bande de colons et commença, le 2 avril, la construction d'un fort avec des logements, au fond de la baie, sur la Rivière-aux-Bœufs,<sup>7</sup> qui s'appelle maintenant la rivière Lavaca.<sup>8</sup> Son but était d'y faire un poste temporaire, où séjournerait le gros de l'expédition, pendant qu'il tenterait, par voie de terre, de retrouver le Mississippi, objectif de son voyage.

Telle fut l'origine de l'établissement de La Salle au Texas. Il lui servit de base pendant ses voyages à la recherche du grand fleuve. Mais La Salle fut tué en 1687 au cours de sa tentative de gagner le Canada par les Illinois,<sup>9</sup> et le fort de la baie Saint-Louis fut détruit la même année, par les Indiens Clamcoets<sup>10</sup> ou Karankawa,<sup>11</sup> et

<sup>1</sup> *Id.* p. 192.

<sup>2</sup> Margry, *Découvertes*, vol. II, Extrait d'une lettre de l'abbé Tronson à l'abbé de Belmont, p. 355.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.* Commission pour le Sieur de la Salle, 14 avril 1684, pp. 382-3.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.* vol. III. Relation de Henri Joutel, p. 91.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.* pp. 121 et 192—Leclercq, *Etablissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle-France*, Paris, 1691, vol. II, p. 285.

—D'Anville (*Carte de l'Amérique Septentrionale*), 1746.

<sup>6</sup> Rand, McNally & Co's *Indexed Atlas of the World*, Chicago, 1884, p. 737.

<sup>7</sup> Margry, *Découvertes*, vol. III, Relation de Henri Joutel, pp. 172-179—Leclercq, *Etablissement de la Foy*, vol. II, pp. 290-2—Moll, *Map of North America*, (1710-1720).

<sup>8</sup> Rand, McNally & Co's *Indexed Atlas of the World*, p. 737.

<sup>9</sup> Margry, *Découvertes*, vol. III, Relation de Henri Joutel, p. 322.

<sup>10</sup> *Id.* Interrogations faites à Pierre et Jean Talon, par ordre de M. le comte de Pontchartrain, à leur arrivée de la Vera-Cruz le 14 septembre 1698, pp. 613-614.

<sup>11</sup> Bureau of American Ethnology, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*. Washington, 1907-10. vol. I, p. 657.



en 1689 les Espagnols enlevèrent ceux que les Indiens avaient épargnés.<sup>1</sup>

La colonie du Texas ne subsista qu'environ deux ans, mais elle n'en vit pas moins l'établissement du catholicisme dans le pays. La Salle, en effet, était parti de France dans le double but de coloniser et de christianiser. En conséquence il avait emmené avec lui six prêtres, trois séculiers et trois réguliers.<sup>2</sup> Les séculiers étaient M. D'Esmanville, prêtre du séminaire de St. Sulpice,<sup>3</sup> qui retourna en France en mars 1685,<sup>4</sup> et les abbés Jean Cavelier, frère du découvreur, et François Chefdeville. Ces deux derniers avaient reçu de Nicolas Colbert, coadjuteur de l'évêque de Rouen, les pouvoirs de prêcher, de baptiser et d'exercer leur ministère ecclésiastique dans la nouvelle colonie.<sup>5</sup>

Les réguliers étaient trois récollets, les RR. PP. Zénobe Membré, supérieur de la mission, Maxime Leclercq et Anastase Douay.<sup>6</sup> Ces "missionnaires apostoliques" avaient été envoyés en Louisiane du contentement du roi de France<sup>7</sup> et de plus, ils avaient reçu de la Sacrée Congrégation de la Propagande l'autorisation de prêcher la foi dans le pays, pendant que le pape Innocent XI leur accordait, par un bref spécial, "les pouvoirs et permissions authentiques" pour l'exercice de leurs fonctions.<sup>8</sup>

Ainsi les prêtres et religieux, qui faisaient partie de l'expédition, détenaient à la fois les permissions royales et les pouvoirs ecclésiastiques nécessaires à l'exercice et à la propagation du catholicisme dans un pays français d'outre-mer. Dès qu'ils furent installés dans le nouveau poste, sans tarder, ils mirent tous leurs soins à remplir leurs fonctions de prêtres et de missionnaires, à vaquer aux besoins religieux de la petite colonie et à tenter, à l'occasion, l'évangélisation des Sauvages. Il suffira de relever les faits les plus marquants de leur ministère.

Le 22 avril, jour de Pâques, on célébra, La Salle étant présent, "la grande feste avec toutes les solennités possibles où chacun reçut son Créateur." Les cérémonies solennelles se prolongèrent

<sup>1</sup> La Harpe, *Journal Historique de l'Etablissement des François en Louisiane*, Paris, 1831, pp. 3-4.

<sup>2</sup> Margry, *Découvertes*, vol. III, Relation de Henri Joutel, p. 92.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.* Joutel, p. 161

<sup>4</sup> *Id.* vol. II, Extrait du journal de M. d'Esmanville, qui estoit à la première navigation de M. de La Salle, et qui revint avec M. de Beaujeu, p. 510.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.* (Lettre de Nicolas Colbert, 27 mai 1684), p. 475.

<sup>6</sup> Leclercq, *Etablissement de la Foy*, vol. II, p. 274.

<sup>7</sup> *Archives de la Marine*, B<sup>2</sup>, vol. 55, Le ministre à M. le Cardinal d'Estrées, 30 juillet 1685, p. 120.

<sup>8</sup> Leclercq, *Etablissement de la Foy*, vol. II, p. 275.—Margry, *Découvertes*, vol. II, (Décret de la Sacrée Congrégation de la Propagande, 8 janv. 1685) p. 476; (Pouvoirs accordés par la pape Innocent XI, le 12 mars 1685) pp. 477-482.



pendant trois jours.<sup>1</sup> Durant toute cette année, la messe fut dite au fort chaque matin "dans une allée de la maison."<sup>2</sup>

Au mois d'octobre, à la suite de la capture de plusieurs Sauvages, une petite Indienne, "une fille de trois à quatre ans fut baptisée et mourut quelques jours après, comme les prémices de cette Mission et une conquête seure qu'on envoyoit au Ciel."<sup>3</sup> Ce fut l'abbé Chefdeville qui fit le baptême.<sup>4</sup>

Plusieurs fois, par suite des mortalités causées par les maladies et les attaques des Sauvages, les missionnaires célébrèrent l'office des morts et donnèrent la sépulture chrétienne.<sup>5</sup>

A partir de mai 1686, à cause de la perte de plusieurs barriques de vin d'Espagne, on fut réduit à ne célébrer la messe que les dimanches et jours de fête. D'autre part, grâce à un fer à hostie, apporté par M. Chefdeville, on put faire des pains d'autel avec de la farine.<sup>6</sup> Au mois de mai de cette année, on construisit une chapelle de "pieux plantez, couverte d'herbe de roseau," et l'on y dressa un autel décoré d'images.<sup>7</sup> Cet fut la première église catholique, non seulement du Texas, mais de toute la Louisiane française. C'est dans cette chapelle, sans doute, que l'abbé Chefdeville célébra le premier mariage de la colonie, celui du sieur Barbier, officier, à l'une des filles venues de France.<sup>8</sup>

Cette même année 1685, La Salle décida de faire une nouvelle tentative dans le but de retrouver le Mississippi, et le 23 avril il se mit en route, emmenant avec lui son frère, l'abbé Cavelier, et le P. Douay.<sup>9</sup> Au cours du voyage qui dura plusieurs mois, d'avril à octobre,<sup>10</sup> ces deux prêtres s'appliquèrent, autant que possible, à prêcher l'évangile aux nations sauvages que l'expédition rencontra. Ainsi chez les Biskatrongé, ou nation des Pleureux, tribu des Coaques, nous dit le P. Douay, dans sa relation,<sup>11</sup> "nous tâchions le sieur Cavelier et moy comme nous avons fait partout ailleurs de leur insinuer la première connoissance du vray Dieu."<sup>12</sup> Chez les Cenis ou Caddo<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Leclercq, *Etablissement de la Foy*, vol. II, pp. 291-2.

<sup>2</sup> Margry, *Découvertes*, vol. III, Relation de Henri Joutel, p. 235.

<sup>3</sup> Leclercq, *Etablissement de la Foy*, vol. II, p. 294.

<sup>4</sup> Margry, *Découvertes*, vol. III, Relation de Henri Joutel, p. 227.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.* p. 161.—Leclercq, *Etablissement de la Foy*, vol. II, p. 296.

<sup>6</sup> Margry, *Découvertes*, vol. III, Relation de Henri Joutel, p. 232.

<sup>7</sup> *Id.* p. 235.

<sup>8</sup> Margry, *Découvertes*, vol. III, Relation de Henri Joutel, p. 242.

<sup>9</sup> Leclercq, *Etablissement de la Foy*, vol. II, p. 303.—Joutel donne la date du 28 avril, Margry, *Découvertes*, vol. III, Relation de Henri Joutel, p. 225.

<sup>10</sup> Margry, *Découvertes*, vol. III, Relation de Henri Joutel, pp. 225 et 249.

<sup>11</sup> Bureau of American Ethnology, *Handbook of American Indians*, vol. I, pp. 315-6.

<sup>12</sup> Leclercq, *Etablissement de la Foy*, vol. II, p. 309.

<sup>13</sup> *Handbook of American Indians*, vol. I, p. 179.

également, les deux prêtres cherchèrent à faire entendre les enseignements de la foi chrétienne.<sup>1</sup>

Au retour du voyage en octobre 1686, les prêtres, MM. Chefderville et Cavelier, et les Récollets consacraient tout leur temps à leur ministère, "travaillant de concert à l'édification des François et de quelques familles sauvages qui se détachent des nations voisines pour se joindre à nous."<sup>2</sup>

Le jour de Noël 1686, on célébra la messe avec solennité et chacun fit ses dévotions, et l'on fit de même le jour de la fête des Rois.<sup>3</sup>

De ces faits, la conclusion s'impose clairement que les missionnaires qui accompagnaient La Salle en 1684-87, munis des permissions et pouvoirs requis, avec l'assentiment du souverain du pays, établirent effectivement le catholicisme dans le territoire qui s'appelle aujourd'hui le Texas.

## II

Du fait de la colonisation de la Louisiane, quelle partie du territoire américain, située sur le golfe du Mexique ou sur l'Océan Atlantique, devint possession française et tomba en conséquence sous la juridiction de l'évêque de Québec? Ici, de nouveau, l'histoire nous donnera la réponse, en s'appuyant sur la géographie.

Il convient peut-être d'abord de s'assurer que la Louisiane se trouva — dès sa découverte — et resta jusqu'à la fin sous la juridiction ecclésiastique de Québec et de ses vicaires généraux résidant à Mobile ou à la Nouvelle-Orléans.

C'est Louis XIV lui-même qui se charge de nous l'apprendre. En effet, au cardinal d'Estrées, qui proposait de fonder dans la colonie à naître des missions relevant uniquement de Rome, le roi répondait que par la bulle d'érection de l'évêché de Québec, de 1674, il était dit en termes exprès que "cet Evesché s'estendra dans toute l'estendue des terres de la domination du Roy suivant les bornes qui seront désignées par Sa Majesté et approuvées par le St. Siège."<sup>4</sup>

"Ainsy ces bornes n'ayant point encore esté données, l'Evesque de Quebec a une juridiction naturelle en vertu de ses Bulles sur toute l'estendue des terres découvertes par les François et dont il a esté pris possession au nom de Sa Majesté, et si dans la suite cette estendue de pais appelée la Louisiane devenoit plus connue et peuplée de François, Il seroit nécessaire, non pas d'y envoyer des Missionnaires de Rome, mais d'y établir dans le temps un nouvel Evesché, auquel cas on donneroît des bornes certaines à celui de Quebec, et

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<sup>1</sup> Leclercq, *Etablissement de la Foy*, vol. II, p. 323.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.* pp. 329-330.

<sup>3</sup> Margry, *Découvertes*, vol. III, Relation de Henri Joutel, p. 258.

<sup>4</sup> *Archives des Colonies*, B. vol. II. Mémoire sur les Missions du Canada, 19 mai 1685, pp. 280-2.

on remédieroit par ce moyen à son excessive estendue qui a esté objectée dans les Mémoires envoyez."<sup>1</sup>

Cette décision royale fit loi durant tout le régime français, car Québec resta le seul évêché de la Nouvelle-France et garda par conséquent la Louisiane sous sa juridiction.

Ainsi en 1703, le roi déclare ne vouloir prendre aucune décision sur les missions du Mississippi sans l'avis de Mgr de Saint-Valier.<sup>2</sup> C'est de lui que M. de la Vente, curé du fort, à la Mobile, en 1707,<sup>3</sup> tient ses pouvoirs de grand-vicaire dans la Louisiane.<sup>4</sup> Quand, en 1722, les Capucins veulent s'établir dans la colonie, ils doivent le faire "sous l'autorité de l'évêque de Québec."<sup>5</sup> C'est toujours de lui que relèvent les grands vicaires de la Louisiane, qu'ils soient supérieurs des Capucins ou supérieurs des Jésuites.<sup>6</sup>

Mais quelle étendue du territoire américain actuel sur le golfe du Mexique et l'océan Atlantique, tomba sous la juridiction de ces grands-vicaires louisianais? Leur autorité s'étendait-elle, par exemple, à une partie quelconque de la Floride, de la Géorgie, des Carolines et de la Virginie? Embrassait-elle même une partie quelconque des diocèses de la Pennsylvanie, par exemple, de celui de Scranton? Pour répondre à ces questions, il suffira, consultant les documents et les cartes de l'époque, de déterminer les limites de la Louisiane.

Dans son procès-verbal de prise de possession, La Salle nous l'avons vu, faisait entrer dans la nouvelle colonie, depuis l'embouchure de l'Ohio, du côté de l'est, tous les pays le long du fleuve Mississippi et des rivières qui s'y déchargent, depuis sa naissance jusqu'à son déversement dans le golfe du Mexique, en tirant jusqu'à la rivière des Palmes, à l'ouest.<sup>7</sup> C'est la même étendue qu'assigne à la Louisiane la commission de Louis XIV à La Salle, de 1684, lui donnant autorité sur la contrée qui va "depuis le fort Saint-Louis sur la rivière des Illinois jusqu'à la Nouvelle Biscaye."<sup>8</sup> En termes différents, ces deux documents indiquent les mêmes limites, comme on peut le voir par un coup d'œil sur la carte de D'Anville, qui place la rivière des Palmes sur le 25<sup>e</sup> degré de latitude.<sup>9</sup> Les cartes modernes ne donnent pas cette rivière qui est formée par la jonction des rivières Nassas et Saucedo.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Archives des Colonies*, B. vol. 11, Mémoire sur les Missions du Canada, 19 mai 1685, p. 283.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.* vol. 23-3, à M. l'Évêque de Québec, 17 juin 1701, p. 67.

<sup>3</sup> *Archives des Colonies*. C<sup>11</sup>, vol. 27-1, Mémoire (s.l.n.d.) p. 58.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.* M. Brisacier au ministre, 4 avril 1707, p. 47.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.* B. vol. 43-3, Ordonnance concernant l'Établissement des Capucins, 27 juin 1725, pp. 679 et 681.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.* vol. 106, à M. l'abbé de L'Isle-Dieu, 14 sept. 1757, p. 174.

<sup>7</sup> Margry, *Découvertes*, vol. II, Procès-verbal de prise de possession de la Louisiane, pp. 191-2.

<sup>8</sup> *Id.* Commission pour le sieur La Salle, 14 avril 1684, p. 383.

<sup>9</sup> D'Anville, (*Carte de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, 1746.

<sup>10</sup> Brookes, *Gazetteer and Geographical Dictionary*, London, 1809, au mot: Palmas.



Avec le temps et les découvertes qui la faisaient mieux connaître, la description de la Louisiane, si vague au début, va se précisant. L'édit de Louis XV, qui la cède au sieur Crozat, comprend dans ses limites toutes les terres " bornées par celles du Nouveau Mexique et par celle des Anglais de la Caroline, les établissements, ports, havres, rivières, et principalement les ports et havres de l'Ile Dauphine appelée autrefois le Massacre; le fleuve Saint-Louis, autrefois appelé Mississippi, depuis le bord de la mer jusqu'aux Illinois, ensemble les rivières Saint-Philippe, autrefois appelées des Missouris, et Saint-Hiérosme, autrefois appelé Ouabache, avec tous les pays, contrées, lacs dans les terres et les rivières qui tombent directement ou indirectement dans cette partie du fleuve St. Louis."<sup>1</sup>

Quatre ans plus tard, dans un mémoire au gouverneur de l'Epinay, le roi résume sommairement les limites de la colonie, en disant qu'elle est située entre la Caroline à l'est et le Vieux et le Nouveau Mexique à l'ouest.<sup>2</sup>

La Harpe, qui parcourut la colonie dans tous les sens, remplissant diverses missions, a laissé, probablement en 1722, une description détaillée de ses limites. D'après lui, de l'ouest à l'est, la Louisiane va, sur le golfe du Mexique, de la baie Saint-Bernard au Rio Perdido, situé entre Pensacola et la Mobile, mais à l'intérieur elle va du Nouveau Mexique aux colonies anglaises. Du sud au nord, elle s'étend du golfe mexicain jusqu'au 38<sup>e</sup> degré à l'est du Mississippi et jusqu'au 45<sup>e</sup> à l'ouest de cette rivière.<sup>3</sup>

Suffisamment précises peut-être pour le nord et le sud, toutes ces délimitations restent plutôt vagues quant aux frontières orientale et occidentale. Car ce n'est pas solutionner la question que de donner à la Louisiane, à l'ouest les frontières de la Nouvelle Biscaye ou du Mexique, et à l'est celles de la Caroline, quand ces frontières elles-mêmes ne sont pas déterminées. Voyons, pour nous éclairer, comment les géographes contemporains, aidés des renseignements des ministères, les ont interprétées?

Le Maire, qui dressa sa carte sur les lieux mêmes, fixe la frontière occidentale de la province à la rivière du Nord, Rio Grande ou Rio Bravo del Norte.<sup>4</sup> La carte anglaise de Moll adopte la même limite pour la Louisiane à l'ouest.<sup>5</sup> Et De Lisle accepte également cette ligne trente ans plus tard.<sup>6</sup> D'autre part, ces deux cartes de Moll

<sup>1</sup> *Edits et Ordonnances*, vol. I, Edit du Roi portant l'Etablissement de la Louisiane par les sieurs Crozat, du 14<sup>e</sup> septembre 1712, pp. 327-8.

<sup>2</sup> *Archives des Colonies*, B. 38-3. Mémoire du Roy pour servir d'Instruction au Sr. de l'Epinay, Gouverneur de la Province de la Louisiane sur le service qu'il doit rendre au d. Pays, 20 oct. 1716, p. 717.

<sup>3</sup> La Harpe, *Journal historique de l'Etablissement des Français en Louisiane*, pp. 354-5.

<sup>4</sup> Le Maire, *Carte nouvelle de la Louisiane et pais circonvoisins, dressée sur les lieux pour être présentée à Sa Majesté*, T.C., 1816.

<sup>5</sup> Moll, *Map of North America*, (1710-1720).

<sup>6</sup> DeLisle, *Carte des Nouvelles Découvertes au nord de la Mer du Sud, tant à l'est de la Sibérie et du Kamtchatka, qu'à l'Ouest de la Nouvelle-France*, 1750.



et De Lisle, assignent à la Louisiane pour frontière orientale la baie de Biloxi. Quant à la carte de D'Anville, elle limitait la colonie à l'ouest à la rivière des Palmes et à l'est à la Rivière Perdue ou Rio Perdido.<sup>1</sup>

Dernière en date, mais la plus précise de toutes, la carte de Nolin, dressée sur des observations et des cartes françaises et anglaises, donne, avec un tracé en couleurs, les limites de la Louisiane, qui sont à l'ouest le Rio Grande et à l'est le Rio Perdido. Elle fait, de plus, dans un cartouche, cette excellente description des limites du pays: "La Louisiane est située le long du fleuve Mississipi, depuis ce que nous connaissons de ce grand fleuve au Nord jusqu'à son embouchure et dans sa partie Méridionale depuis le long du Missouri, de la Rivière Rouge à l'Occident jusqu'aux Monts Appalaches et leur continuation qui la séparent des Colonies Angloises à l'Orient, à l'exception d'une portion des Costes Orientales depuis Rio Perdido qui appartient aux Espagnols."<sup>2</sup>

Voici maintenant, résumant les affirmations françaises, ces mêmes limites telles que décrites par Jefferys en termes géographiques. La Louisiane, écrit-il, s'étend du golfe du Mexique du 29e degré environ jusqu'au 45e degré du côté ouest du Mississipi, et jusqu'au 39e degré du côté est. Sur le golfe du Mexique, elle va d'environ le 86e degré au 100e de longitude ouest de Londres.<sup>3</sup> Plus exactement du 88e au 98e degré.

Ainsi les frontières de la Louisiane sont à peu près restées ce qu'elles étaient déjà sous La Salle. Si on a cédé à l'Espagne, à l'ouest, quelques lieues de territoire en reculant les limites de la rivière des Palmes au Rio Grande, on en a repris quelques-unes sur la même Espagne, à l'est, en reportant la frontière de la baie de Biloxi au Rio Perdido.

Concluons. De toutes ces affirmations documentaires et géographiques, il ressort que la Louisiane appuyait sa frontière occidentale sur le Rio Grande en remontant au nord-ouest jusqu'aux sources de Missouri, et sa frontière orientale sur le Rio Perdido jusqu'à sa naissance, et de là sur les Appalaches, en remontant vers le nord. Au sud, le golfe du Mexique lui servait de borne, et au nord, le Canada, dont le premier poste était le fort Ouiatanon sur la Ouabache, vers le 39e degré.<sup>4</sup> Ces frontières finirent par s'imposer. La ligne du Rio Grande et du Rio Perdido fut acceptée par les Etats-Unis. Ils en firent la base de leurs réclamations contre l'Espagne, qui la reconnut, en 1819, à l'occasion de la cession de la Floride à la république américaine.<sup>5</sup> Notons que de nos jours, ces délimitations subsistent encore

<sup>1</sup> D'Anville, (*Carte de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, 1746.

<sup>2</sup> Nolin, *Carte du Canada et de la Louisiane qui forment la Nouvelle France et des Colonies Anglaises*, 1756.

<sup>3</sup> Jefferys, *The Natural and Civil History of the French Dominions in North and South America*, London, 1760, vol. I, p. 139.

<sup>4</sup> *C.O. 42*, vol. I-I, Heads of Enquiry relating to the State of Canada... Answered as far as relates to the Government of Montreal, May 1763, pp. 12-13.

<sup>5</sup> *The Encyclopedia Americana*, vol. XI, au mot: Perdido.

puisque le Mexique s'arrête au Rio Grande del Norte et que la Floride ne dépasse pas le Rio Perdido.<sup>1</sup> Même l'Angleterre a pratiquement admis le bien fondé de la frontière française des Appalaches, puisqu'immédiatement après la conquête du Canada, elle en faisait la limite occidentale que ne devaient pas franchir les colonies américaines.<sup>2</sup>

Des faits précédents, au point de vue particulier, qui nous occupe, deux conclusions s'imposent, semble-t-il:

1 ° La domination française en Louisiane eut pour extrêmes limites sur le golfe du Mexique, le Rio Grande del Norte à l'ouest, et le Rio Perdido à l'est. Conséquemment, la juridiction de l'évêché de Québec, s'exerçant aux termes même de sa bulle de création dans "l'estendue des terres de la domination du Roy", porta sur tout le pays compris entre ses deux bornes. Ainsi passèrent sous l'autorité religieuse des grands vicaires louisianais, le long du littoral du golfe mexicain, les territoires qui forment aujourd'hui les Etats du Texas, de la Louisiane, du Mississippi et de l'Alabama, ces quatre Etats étant situés entre le Rio Grande et le Rio Perdido.

Quant à la Floride, elle fut et demeura espagnole jusqu'à la fin du régime français et la conclusion semble s'imposer que les grands vicaires louisianais ne possédèrent sur elle aucun droit ecclésiastique. Mais il y a autre chose.

Il faut d'abord mentionner qu'en février ou mars 1718, les Français, sous Châteauguay, établirent un fort en Floride, à la baie Saint-Joseph, dans l'actuel comté de Calhoun. Cette occupation fut très brève: au mois de mai, la garnison française abandonna le poste faute de vivres. Les Espagnols y formèrent un établissement.<sup>3</sup>

En mai 1719, de plus, les Français s'emparèrent de Pensacola, durent le rendre aux Espagnols en août, le recapturèrent en septembre<sup>4</sup> et le gardèrent jusqu'en 1723.<sup>5</sup>

De ces occupations passagères d'un territoire ennemi, quelle déduction doit-on tirer? Puisque l'évêché de Québec avait pour ressort toute "l'estendue des terres de la domination du Roy", il semble bien qu'il faille admettre que, pendant les brèves périodes d'occupation de la baie Saint-Joseph et de Pensacola, ces territoires furent sous la juridiction des grands vicaires de la Mobile.

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<sup>1</sup> Rand, McNally & Company, *The Library Atlas of the World*, 1912, vol. I, pp. 240-1: pp. 126-127.

<sup>2</sup> Shortt & Doughty, *Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791*, The Proclamation of 1763, pp. 121-2.

<sup>3</sup> La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, pp. 141-3.

<sup>4</sup> La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, pp. 148, 150 et 163.

Fortier, *A History of Louisiana*, New York, 1904, vol. I, p. 69.

2° *Aucune partie du territoire américain, située sur l'océan Atlantique ne tomba, du fait de l'occupation de la Louisiane, sous la domination française, mais certaines parties intérieures d'Etats américains, situés sur le Sud-Atlantique, appartinrent à la France et par conséquent passèrent sous la direction des grands vicaires de Québec en Louisiane.*

Ici encore, c'est une question de géographie. Nous l'avons vu, la frontière que la France reconnaissait entre le Canada et la Louisiane, formant la Nouvelle-France, et les provinces anglaises, c'est la chaîne des Appalaches. Il suffit de citer sur ce point La Galissonnière, la plus haute compétence française en la matière, qui écrit: "Toutes les cartes ont placé les bornes des possessions anglaises au sommet des montagnes Appalaches. La carte de *People*... n'est pas plus favorable aux prétentions de l'Angleterre."<sup>1</sup> La carte de Nolin éclaire d'un tracé en couleur cette ligne frontière.<sup>2</sup> Une carte anglaise contemporaine présente un tracé qui suit la même chaîne de montagnes.<sup>3</sup>

Cette frontière admise, la question se solutionne facilement. Tout territoire arrosé par des rivières coulant vers l'ouest appartient au versant occidental, et ainsi à la vallée mississippienne, qui constitue la Louisiane française. Tout territoire arrosé par des rivières qui se jettent dans l'Atlantique, appartient au versant oriental, et conséquemment aux possessions anglaises. Pour connaître les parties des Etats américains de l'Atlantique qui furent sous la domination française, il suffit d'indiquer les territoires du versant occidental des Appalaches.

D'abord la Géorgie. L'extrême partie nord-ouest de cet Etat renferme plusieurs tributaires du Mississippi, telles les rivières Hiawasse, Little Tennessee et Chickamauga. Ce coin du territoire géorgien, qui inclut approximativement les comtés de Dade, Catoosa, Walker, Chattooga, Rabun, Towns, Union, Fanning, Gilmer, Murray et Whitefield, fit partie de la Louisiane française et du domaine religieux des grands vicaires de la Nouvelle Orléans.<sup>4</sup>

La Caroline du Sud ne compte que des rivières qui se déchargent directement ou indirectement dans l'Atlantique. Aucune partie de son territoire ne releva donc de la Louisiane politiquement, ni de Québec ecclésiastiquement.<sup>5</sup>

La Caroline du Nord voit couler sur son sol quelques tributaires du Mississippi, entre autres les rivières Hiawasse et Little Tennessee. On peut réclamer, en conséquence, comme ancienne portion du

<sup>1</sup> *Archives des Colonies*, C<sup>11</sup> A. vol. 100; M. de la Galissonnière à M. Rouillé, 7 mars 1755, p. 421.

<sup>2</sup> Nolin, *Carte du Canada et de la Louisiane, qui forment la Nouvelle-France, et des colonies anglaises*, 1756.

<sup>3</sup> *A New Map of North America from the latest Discoveries*, (1763).

<sup>4</sup> Rand, McNally & Company, *The Library Atlas*, vol. 1, pp. 110-111.

*Id.* pp. 106-7.



territoire louisianais et du diocèse québécois, les comtés de Cherokee, Clay, Graham, Macon, Transylvania, Henderson, Buncombe, Madison, Haywood, Swain, Ashe, Alleghany, Watanga, Avery.<sup>1</sup>

En Virginie se rencontrent également plusieurs rivières, telles la Holston, la Clinch et la Great Kanawha, qui finalement se déversent dans le Mississippi. Appartiennent par suite à l'ancienne colonie française et à son autorité religieuse les comtés de Lee, Scott, Washington, Grayson, Carroll, Wythe, Pulasky, Montgomery, Giles, Tazewell, Buchanan, Dickinson et Wise.<sup>2</sup>

Quant à la Pennsylvanie, la question diffère, car la frontière de la Louisiane, qui s'arrêtait entre le 38<sup>e</sup> et 39<sup>e</sup> degré ne confinait pas à celle de la province anglaise, cette dernière ne dépassant que fort peu le 40<sup>e</sup> degré. Ainsi donc, les grands vicaires en Louisiane ne pouvaient d'aucune façon prétendre à une juridiction sur son territoire.

Mais d'autre part, la Pennsylvanie s'appuyait au Canada et l'on peut se demander si l'évêque de Québec eut juridiction sur cette province. La réponse est facile. L'Etat pennsylvanien qui va pratiquement de l'Atlantique au lac Erié, se trouve scindé diagonalement par la ligne frontière des Appalaches en deux portions, l'une à l'est, territoire anglais, l'autre à l'ouest, terre française sous la juridiction épiscopale canadienne. Mais comment se départagent ces deux portions?

La Pennsylvanie compte six diocèses. Celui de Pittsburg, dont la ville épiscopale occupe le site de l'ancien fort Duquesne, où séjournèrent des aumôniers et des missionnaires, comprend dix comtés arrosés par l'Ohio, la Monongahéla et l'Alléghany et leurs tributaires. Il est donc entièrement dans l'ancienne colonie du Canada et fut de fait sous la direction de l'évêque de Québec.

Le diocèse d'Erié, situé en bordure du lac de ce nom et occupant la région où s'élevaient les forts français de la Presqu'île, de Machault et de Venango, comprend treize comtés dont neuf sont arrosés par le lac Erié et ses tributaires, et par des affluents du Mississippi. Ces comtés, Crawford, Erié, Warren, Potter, Venango, Forest, Clarion, Jefferson et McKean, relevaient donc de la colonie laurentienne et de son autorité épiscopale. Des quatre autres comtés, trois, ceux de Potter, Elk et Clearfield, sont en partie arrosés par des tributaires du Mississippi et en partie par des tributaires de l'Atlantique; ils n'appartiennent donc que partiellement à cette double juridiction française et catholique. Enfin le treizième, celui de Cameron, est entièrement en territoire anglais.

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<sup>1</sup> *Id.* pp. 98-99.

<sup>2</sup> *Rand, McNally & Co., The Library Atlas*, vol. I, pp. 82-83.



Le diocèse d'Altoona comprend huit comtés, dont trois, ceux de Fulton, Centre et Clinton, appartiennent au versant oriental ou britannique. Quant aux cinq autres, Cambria, Bedford, Blair, Huntingdon et Somerset, ils se partagent entre les deux versants étant partiellement arrosés à la fois par des tributaires du Mississippi et de l'Atlantique. Donc sur la partie de leurs territoires située à l'ouest des Appalaches existait, avec la domination française, la juridiction religieuse de Québec.<sup>1</sup>

Quant aux diocèses de Scranton, ses onze comtés sont arrosés par les deux branches de la Susquehanna, tributaires de l'Atlantique, et appartiennent au versant oriental des Appalaches. Ils furent toujours sous la domination anglaise, et ne connurent pas la juridiction ecclésiastique de Québec. Les diocèses de Philadelphie et de Harrisburg se trouvent également dans la portion anglaise de la Pennsylvanie.

La seconde partie de cette étude s'est efforcée d'indiquer, aussi rigoureusement que possible, les territoires qui sont compris dans les Etats américains situés sur le golfe du Mexique ou sur l'océan Atlantique, et qui firent partie des possessions françaises. Sur ces territoires s'exerçait la juridiction de l'évêque de Québec, du moins potentiellement, ou *de jure*, comme disent les hommes de loi. Cette juridiction s'exerça-t-elle *de fait* sur tous ces territoires? C'est une autre question, peut-être impossible à résoudre, puisque les représentants de cette juridiction n'étaient que des aumôniers, accompagnant des troupes, ou des missionnaires, attachés à des tribus indiennes en mouvement. Sa solution d'ailleurs ne changerait rien aux résultats du présent travail.

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<sup>1</sup> Pour cette étude des diocèses et de leurs territoires, on peut consulter *The Catholic Encyclopedia* et l'*Atlas* de Rand, McNally & Co., qui donnent les noms et la situation des comtés.

THE COMPILATION OF A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE  
REBELLION OF 1837-38

BY

FRANCES STATON

I wish to bring to the notice of the Canadian Historical Association a pamphlet just issued by the Reference Division of the Toronto Public Library—an institution with which I have been connected for many years. This pamphlet is entitled "The Rebellion of 1837-38. A Bibliography of the sources of information in the Public Reference Library, Toronto."

The compiling of this work being assigned me, it is now my purpose to give a short account of the method and procedure followed in the gathering and arranging of the material contained in the bibliography, a subject which, while it may not be exactly entertaining or amusing, may at least prove of some interest to many who would wish at some time to make a special study of that important event, which was to become a powerful factor in shaping the destinies of our country, and in its development politically and socially.

A few years ago, after due consideration of the subject, Dr. Locke decided to have published at intervals a series of bibliographies of material available in the Reference Division of the Toronto Public Library, gathering together all the resources of the library on a particular subject, in this way bringing to light many of the treasures of which we were possessed, and making known to the public generally, our great wealth of material on various Canadian topics. Our object secondly was by these means to aid those who were desirous of following some particular course of historical study, and to make their fields of investigation as interesting and as fruitful as possible.

Our first attempt was a list of all the early Canadian printed books and pamphlets in the Reference Library, dating from 1764, when the first printing press was established in this country, to the year 1837, giving us a very good idea of the progress of printing and publication in Canada during that period. This, our first effort, proved very successful and we were encouraged to continue the good work.

Our next contribution to the series was more ambitious, we having decided on a bibliography of one of the most salient points in the history of our country—that of the Canadian Rebellion of 1837—both in Upper and in Lower Canada.

Having undertaken this work I was rather appalled at its magnitude and felt that it was no easy task, but it was a favourite theme in Canadian history, which made the work more congenial, and as I went on it became exceedingly fascinating and absorbing.

Having decided on the subject the next thing to consider was the plan of campaign in regard to the research work. In this respect no trouble was anticipated so far as the general material was concerned, for the Canadiana of our Reference Library as a general collection cannot be surpassed, and it is one of which Toronto, and in fact all Canada, may be justifiably proud.

It is not within the scope of this paper to enter into any of the details of the causes and agitation that led to the rebellion nor to comment on any of the events connected with it. The purpose is now to explain the nature and arrangement of the bibliography by mentioning the different sources investigated for material.

The first source to be noticed are the books—and in order for the student and others to arrive at a fair and accurate knowledge of the causes that led to the rebellion of 1837-8, it will be necessary to go back to the beginning of the history of our country and besides making a careful study of the French Régime, and the earlier history of the English period, to read, mark, learn, and digest the Quebec Act of 1774 and the Constitutional Act of 1791. In this connection too may be read, "The Seventh Report from the Select Committee of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada on Grievances, etc.," and "The ninety-two Resolutions of the House of Assembly of Lower Canada," also Lord Durham's "Report on the Affairs of Canada."

In this way, a list was made of all the histories of the rebellion, then of the most important histories of Canada which dealt in any detail on the subject. This in itself presented quite a creditable list.

After this an excursion was taken into the realm of books, seeking hither and thither for individual chapters for odds and ends, and out-of-the-way information, which search was very satisfactorily rewarded. This source proved a most interesting one, obtaining as we do the view-points of the different authors, and seeking many items of local interest that we do not find in the general history.

Next to be entered was the field of romance with the hope of gleaning there at least a few tales and stories founded on such an exciting and interesting topic as the Canadian Rebellion of 1837-8, my search being rewarded by securing several works of fiction.

I then turned my attention to pamphlets, in which we are particularly wealthy. Our collection on, and relating to, our subject is a very valuable one, containing as it does a great wealth of material on the rebellion and the causes and events connected with it. As an aid to the study of history it cannot be denied that their value is inestimable. A pamphlet is generally written on some important topic, or some event, or some question political or social, that is agitating the minds of the people at the time, and its interest is enhanced by the fact that it only relates to present day questions. As

an instrument in shaping and moulding the opinions of the people in times of political storm and stress especially, it is as a rule very keen and convincing. Pamphlets, like some periodicals, do not enjoy a very long existence. Many of them, like human beings, are only born to die. They are seldom reprinted—hence the importance of preserving them as aids to research and the study of history for future generations.

The next source of investigation was the "Transactions of Learned Societies." Of these, of course, there were only certain ones that would be likely to contain any of the desired information. However, some very useful papers were discovered and among others entries have been made from the following: Niagara Historical Society Publications, Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Transactions of the Canadian Institute, Johns Hopkins University Studies, The Buffalo Historical Society, Lundy's Lane Historical Society, Ontario Historical Society.

From the source Government Documents the material was quite profuse, and need not be dwelt upon here, as every one is quite familiar with the nature of their contents, comprising as they do parliamentary debates and discussions, reports of committee, petitions, memorials, proclamations, etc., all of which are valuable assets in regard to historical study.

Our scrap books, too, were not to be despised as an aid to our bibliography. Among these are two which deal particularly with the rebellion. One is composed of extracts from the *Montreal Star* which deal almost entirely with the insurrection in Lower Canada. The other is one which our Chief Librarian, Dr. Locke, was fortunate enough to secure in London, England, when on a visit there several years ago. It consists of copious clippings from American papers of that period such as the *Herald and Sentinel*, Philadelphia, the *Ledger* and *Daily Transcript*, the *Rochester Democrat*, the *Pennsylvanian*, and others. These cuttings contain many items we have not found elsewhere, and are especially valuable because of the light they throw on the subject of American sympathy and opinion.

Another by-path to the highroad of history was found in the magazine literature, and though not quite so productive of results as the pamphlets, a good many valuable articles were brought to light. This literature is much akin to that of the pamphlets, the articles being written chiefly with the object of expressing the views and opinions of the writers on some vital and outstanding questions of the day. We cannot, therefore, overlook the fact of their importance, they having always proved a reliable and unfailing friend in need. It may be of some interest to mention a few of the magazines contained in the bibliography where material on the subject may be



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obtained. For instance, the *Annual Register*, *Acta-Victoriana*, *Blackwood's Magazine*, *Canadian Christian Examiner*, *Canadian Magazine*, the *Colonial Magazine*, *Dublin Review*, *Dublin University Magazine*, *Electric Review*, *Fortnightly Review*, *Fraser's Magazine*, *Littell's Living Age*, *Magazine of American History*, *Mirror of Parliament*, *New Dominion Monthly*, *Niles' Register*, *Nineteenth Century*, *North American Review*, *Quarterly Review* and *Rose Belford's Canadian Monthly*.

Last but not least, and the most interesting and prolific of our sources, were the newspapers, of which we have a very representative collection dating from 1830 to the end of the rebellion period. Their contents proved a veritable embarrassment of riches. The task of examining them was a formidable one, but on searching through the files, turning over one by one the musty yellow leaves, such a mine of wealth was revealed that I only realized for the first time the immense value of the newspaper as an historical source.

Much more so than periodicals and pamphlets are they a revealer of public sentiment and opinion. Much more vividly do they chronicle the daily events of the times, and by a thorough search one cannot fail to bring to light many important facts and much curious information which it would be impossible to find elsewhere. From the papers also we obtain a much more graphic and accurate picture of the period than we can possibly do from other sources. We find them a true mirror of past events, and their contents unusually interesting, receiving as we do a delightfully clear and vivid account and description of the occurrences of those bygone days. Some idea of the nature of the material may be gained by saying that in these may be found discussions and debates in the Houses of Parliament on many vital questions concerning the province, despatches, messages, and instructions of the Imperial Government to Governors of the provinces, the replies in return, etc.

There are the accounts of the organization of various societies, both constitutional and reform, their reports, meetings, etc. Then a wealth of very useful matter may be culled from the proceedings of the numerous public meetings that were held in every section of the province in order to attest loyalty to the Crown or otherwise. The resolutions read and adopted and the speeches, almost invariably ending with an address to the King or Queen, expressing their unyielding allegiance, or presenting a petition of grievances.

There are interesting editorials, letters from citizens and residents in the province, each voicing his opinion on the events and troubles of the day. We find also accounts of the battles and skirmishes that took place, in connection with which there is a mass of official correspondence.

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There we find also many proclamations and messages of the President of the United States, relative to the troubles on the frontier, besides addresses and militia orders, as well as detailed reports of the trials of some of the political prisoners, the charge of the judge to the jury, and his speech on passing sentence.

The following are among some of the papers examined: The *Loyalist*, the *Canadian Courant*, the *Western Mercury*, *Quebec Gazette*, *Cobourg Star*, the *Vindicator*, *British American Journal*, *Canadian Correspondent*, *Brockville Recorder*, *Upper Canada Courier*, *Dundas Weekly Post*, *Correspondent and Advocate*, *Montreal Transcript*, the *Traveller* or *Prince Edward Gazette*, *Toronto Mirror*, the *Church*, the *Examiner* and the *Globe*.

The amount of material selected from the papers is rather a formidable one, consisting as it does of several hundred entries, many of them curious and amusing. The task was no easy one but I felt rewarded for the labour by the fact of having amassed a great deal of information on the rebellion that was quite foreign to me before.

This then is the plan on which the bibliography on the rebellion was prepared, and which will also form the basis for compiling other bibliographies on special Canadian topics, which we hope to be able to issue from time to time.

In addition to the above mass of material we have in the archives of our library two unique and valuable items relating to the rebellion which I should like to mention. One is the flag that was taken from the steamer *Caroline* when she was captured by Captain Drew and sent blazing over the Falls on the 29th December, 1837. This flag was afterwards given to Lieutenant McCormick as a recognition of the prominent part he took in the skirmish, and of the severe wounds he received at the time.

A number of years afterwards Lieutenant McCormick gave the flag to Captain Drew, who subsequently presented it to the United Service Museum at Whitehall, where it hung for many years, but on the museum being removed to other quarters the flag was not rehung.

A number of years ago the Board of the Toronto Public Library, through the late Dr. Bain, then Chief Librarian, requested the transfer of the flag to that institution. After some negotiations this request was complied with, and ever since this flag has been one of our most valued possessions.

The other item consists of the original petition of the loyal inhabitants of the city of Toronto to Her Majesty the Queen against the Rebellion Losses Bill. It is written on sheets of vellum making a roll twelve feet long, containing three columns of signatures, among them the names of many of the most prominent residents of the city at that time.

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This document, just recently acquired, is especially valuable to us because of its local interest and our possession of it is to be attributed to the watchfulness and alertness of our Chief Librarian, Dr. Locke, who is always so keen to secure for our library any valuable out-of-the-way material of Canadian historical interest. The petition is a very interesting one and reads as follows:—

“TO THE QUEEN’S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

“We, your Majesty’s most dutiful subjects, Inhabitants of your Majesty’s Loyal City of Toronto in Western Canada most humbly beg to approach your Majesty with expressions of our devoted loyalty to your Majesty’s person and government and humbly and most respectfully to represent to your Majesty—That we view with unfeigned astonishment the measures proposed by the present provincial Administration of this province for payment of losses in the Lower province consequent on the Rebellion of 1837 and 1838, whereby the consolidated revenue of the province is to be charged (already heavily burthened) with a further large amount of debt—the Upper Province having already paid all recognized claims for losses sustained in the defence of the Crown in that section of the country out of her own peculiar revenues, and now being asked to share in the additional burthen arising from the interest on the Debentures proposed to be issued.

“We beg most humbly and respectfully to declare to your Majesty that it is our positive conviction that if the proposed measure be forced through the Provincial Legislature it will be diametrically opposed to the wishes of at least four-fifths of the inhabitants of Canada West without distinction of politics; and that it will be a memorable instance of Taxation without Representation, the people by whom the present House of Assembly was elected not being consulted thereupon and a vast majority being opposed thereto.

“That independently of the palpable injustice of the measure as a question of financial burden and taxation we cannot refrain from expressing our sense of the absurdity and mockery of continuing to call ourselves subjects of the Crown of England and using your Majesty’s name in public and judicial proceedings, and yet submitting to taxation for the purposes of payment of a very large sum of money to reimburse losses alleged to have been sustained eleven years ago by a population in open insurrection against your Majesty’s authority.

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"We therefore humbly and earnestly pray that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to take this our humble representation into your Majesty's favourable consideration and disallow any measure granting remuneration to any party implicated in the late unnatural Rebellion in these Provinces against your Majesty's Crown and Dignity for loss sustained in consequence thereof."

In conclusion I should like to say that all the material quoted in the bibliography is always readily available and at the service of any one who at any time may wish to consult it at the Toronto Public Reference Library.



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### THE BEAVER CLUB

BY

LAWRENCE J. BURPEE

The Beaver Club was established at Montreal in 1785, by the same group of men who founded the North West Company. L. R. Masson, in the Introduction to his *Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, describes it as an exclusive organization, to which no one could be admitted who had not passed the test of a winter in the *pays d'en haut* and received the unanimous vote of the members of the club.

I shall not attempt to describe in any detail the historic background of the Beaver Club, which grew naturally out of the coalition of Montreal merchants engaged in the western fur trade. Very soon after the cession of Canada, British traders began to make their way into what was called the Indian country, first to Michilimackinac, then to Grand Portage at the western end of lake Superior, and later to lake Winnipeg and the Saskatchewan. These independent traders gradually came together in partnerships, but the competition was so severe that the various interests found it imperative to unite in one concern. In 1779 nine distinct firms signed an agreement for one year. This contract was renewed in 1780 for three years, but only lasted two. In the winter of 1783-84, however, a third agreement was signed for five years under the name of the North West Company. The men who thus created the great trading rival of the Hudson's Bay Company, realizing the value of a social medium in welding their commercial interests into one, established the Beaver Club.

Of the original members of the club—nineteen in number—four had made their first trip into the Indian country before the capture of Quebec, that is to say during the French period,—Charles Chaboillez (1751), Maurice Blondeau (1752), Hypolite Des Rivières (1753), and Etienne Campeau (1753). Gabriel Côté had gone west the year of the taking of Montreal, 1760, and Alexander Henry, the first of the British traders, the following year. The three Frobisher brothers, Benjamin, Joseph and Thomas, dated from 1765, 1768 and 1773 respectively; James McGill from 1766 and his brother John four years later. The remainder of the nineteen were Louis Joseph Ainsie (1762), George McBeath (1766), James Finlay (1766), Peter Pond (1770), Mathew Lessey (1770), David McCrae (1772), John McNamara (1772) and Jean Baptiste Jobert (1775). Finlay, so far as is known, was the first British trader to get as far west as the Saskatchewan.

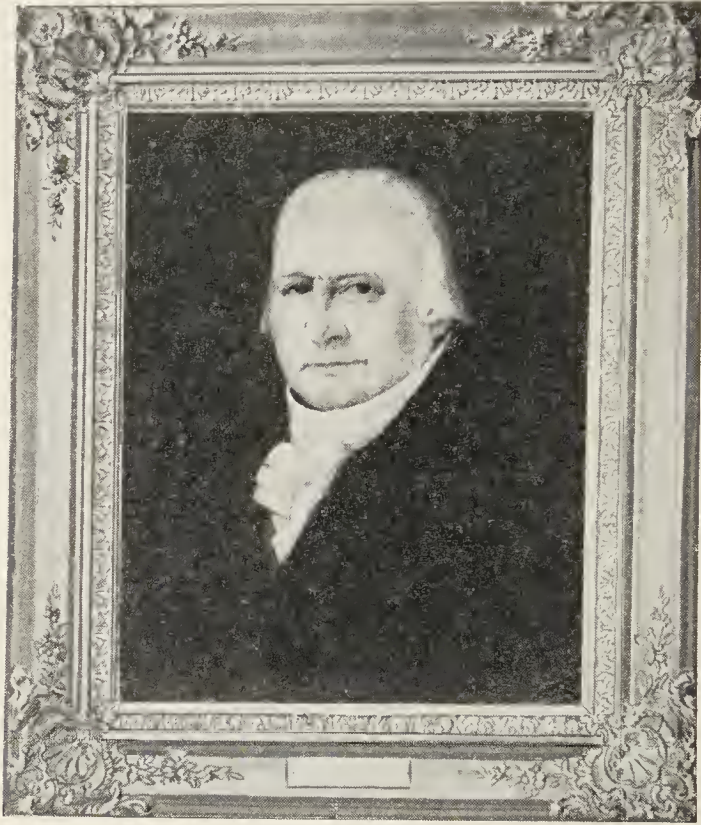
One notes the omission from this list of several names of men that were prominent in the fur trade of the period, such as Peter

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Pangman, John Gregory, A. N. McLeod, and Alexander Mackenzie. As a matter of fact in 1784, the year before the club was formed, these four had organized a rival trading partnership in opposition to the North West Company. Three years later the opposition was abandoned and these men joined the company. Some of them, however, Mackenzie in particular, were not happy among their new associates, and in 1795 what was known as the X Y Company was estab-



Joseph Frobisher.

lished, largely it is said because of the unpopularity of Simon McTavish. Mackenzie left the old company in 1799 and joined the X Y Company in 1801. The death of McTavish in 1804 once more brought the rebels back into the fold. It was therefore not until some time about the reorganization of the Beaver Club in 1807 that Mackenzie and his associates of the X Y Company became active members of the club, although they had been actually elected some time before.

Another and more curious omission is that of Simon McTavish, who with the Frobishers was mainly instrumental in organizing the North West Company. So far as the records show, McTavish was

never a member of the Beaver Club. Possibly he kept out of it because he disliked to meet some of his associates on a footing of equality, or perhaps he realized that he would be a disturbing element in such a place. Masson, in a footnote to his *Bourgeois*, says: "Mr. Simon McTavish was very much disliked by the majority of the wintering partners who, on account of his haughty demeanour, called him "The Premier", "The Marquis".

Other notable omissions, in later years, were David Thompson and Daniel Williams Harmon, but the obvious explanation in their case is that they were out-and-out westerners who never came farther east than Grand Portage or Fort William until they finally left the Indian country, Thompson after nearly a quarter of a century's service and Harmon at the end of nineteen years. In any event, neither was the type of man to feel at home in a social club.

A word or two about some of the original nineteen, of whom, according to Joseph Frobisher, only six were living in 1807—Charles Chaboillez, Alexander Henry, George McBeath, Maurice Blondeau, James McGill, and himself.

Benjamin, Thomas and Joseph Frobisher were Englishmen who had come to Montreal not long after the cession of Canada, and had engaged in business. There are in the McGill Archives a number of very interesting documents known as the Frobisher Papers, which include a letter book of Joseph Frobisher, 1787-88, and his diary 1806-10. From these we get a good deal of light on the Frobishers and their associates, on the North West Company and the fur trade, and on the Beaver Club. Benjamin Frobisher died in 1787 and Thomas Frobisher the following year. Joseph was the most active of the three, having penetrated west as far as the Churchill river where, in 1774, he built a trading post. The following year he accompanied Alexander Henry up the Saskatchewan. He died in 1810. He had built a home, "Beaver Hall," on Beaver Hall Hill, which was burnt in 1847. It has been described as a long wooden cottage, surrounded by trees, and standing about half way up the hill.

James McGill, born in Glasgow in 1744, emigrated to the United States, and came north to Montreal, where he was a prosperous merchant. He died in 1813, leaving his estate of Burnside with £40,000 to found the university which has since borne his name. He is described as tall, with a commanding figure, handsome in youth, with a tendency to corpulency in advancing years: a frank, social temperament. He sat in the first parliament of Lower Canada 1792, became a member of the Legislative Council, and chairman of the Executive Council, 1812. He commanded Montreal volunteers in the War of 1812.



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Alexander Henry was born in New Jersey, and came to Montreal in 1760. He entered the fur trade, and started west the following year. His "Travels and Adventures" describes his experiences for the following sixteen years. He sailed for Europe in 1776, where he made the acquaintance of Sir Joseph Banks, then president of the Royal Society, and had an opportunity of telling the story of his adventures to Marie Antoinette. He had been introduced to the French Court by Abbé La Corne, a brother of the Canadian officer, St. Luc de la Corne. Henry died in 1824. Parkman's account of the Indian massacre of the garrison at Michilimackinac in 1763 is based upon Henry's narrative.

James Finlay had gone west in 1766, but, more ambitious or adventurous than his associates, he had not been content to trade with the Indians at Michilimackinac or Sault Ste. Marie, Green Bay or Grand Portage, but had pushed on toward the setting sun. We have the evidence of Matthew Cocking, one of the early explorers of the Hudson's Bay Company, that Finlay had built a trading post on the Saskatchewan and wintered there in 1767. Eight years afterward we find him mentioned as one of the twelve "most respectable citizens", six English and six French, who drew up the articles of capitulation of Montreal to Montgomery. In 1796 he was warden of Christ Church. He died some time between the latter date and 1807. His son married Gregory's sister.

Peter Pond, one of the most singular of the many remarkable men engaged in the western fur trade, was born in Milford, Connecticut, in 1740. The evidence of his wanderings depends almost entirely on his own maps and occasional references in narratives of his contemporaries, for, although he left a manuscript journal, comparable only to that of Radisson as an example of eccentric spelling, when it was discovered in Connecticut by one of his descendants some years ago, the greater part of it was gone, having been used, it is said, for kindling the kitchen stove. That kind of unintentional but none the less unfortunate vandalism has deprived the world of many an invaluable record of the past.

Pond was a born adventurer, apparently never so happy as when pushing his way into some unexplored region of the far west. He was a man of violent temper, and fought three duels during his eighteen years in the west, in each of which his opponent was killed. One cannot quite picture him as a member of the Beaver Club, and indeed so little of his time was spent in Montreal that he could not have been much more than a nominal member.

As a matter of fact, he had been sent down to Montreal from the west in 1784, to answer for the death of a trader named Wadin. The following year—the year the Beaver Club was founded—he was in



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Quebec presenting a memorial to the Governor regarding his western discoveries. He started back the same year, remained in the west until 1788, and then left the North West Company, returning to Milford, where he died in 1807.

These scattered notes may serve the purpose of introducing the group of fur traders who organized the club in 1785. Of the club itself, little is known before the year 1807, when it was, in the language of the minutes, "renewed and newmodeled". From January of that year up to and including the year 1817, minutes were kept by the secretary, and again in the single year 1827. These minutes fortunately have been preserved. It does not appear that any minutes were kept until 1807, nor between 1817 and 1827. The club remained active from 1785 to September, 1804. Between the latter date and January, 1807, it apparently was in a state of suspended animation. Meetings were held regularly between 1807 and 1817, generally once a fortnight from December to April. Internal evidence points to the fact that in 1817 the club gave up the ghost. Ten years later it was made the victim of a belated attempt at resuscitation, but, like some similar efforts in human experience, this one proved abortive. The club, after tottering through three meetings, died again and was decently and permanently buried in March, 1827.

The disappearance of the club after 1817 is not hard to understand. These were critical years in the fur trade. The long period of guerilla warfare between the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, punctuated every now and then with such fatal episodes as the Seven Oaks affair, was proving disastrous to both companies. The rival traders were in fact drifting into very rough water, and wisely determined to unite their forces instead of each wasting its energy trying to destroy the other. The union took place in March, 1821.

The spasmodic revival of the club in 1827 seems to have been mainly due to Sir George Simpson, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, of which the old North West Company was now a part. In a letter from Simpson to Roderick McKenzie, dated Lachine, January 10, 1827, he says: "Your brother and a few North-Westerners have promised to assist me to-day in discussing the merits of a roasted beaver; I shall sound them about the plan of renewing the Beaver Club, but fear the season is too far advanced to do anything on it this winter. Accept my best thanks for your attention in sending me the rules."

Something evidently did come of it because we find a meeting of the Beaver Club held eight days later, at the house of William Blackwood. At this meeting Simpson, James Keith and a Mr.

Ferries were elected new members. However, this is telling the story of the Beaver Club backwards, and it may be wise to get back to 1807.

Up to that time nineteen additional members had been added to the original nineteen, now, it will be remembered, reduced to six, and five honorary members. The added members, with their year of election, were: Jean Baptiste Jabeau (1787), Joseph Blakeley (1787), Patrick Small (1789), Nicholas Montour (1790), V. St. Germain (1790), John Gregory (1791), Jacques Giasson (1791), Myers Michaels (1793), Isaac Todd (1795), William McGillivray (1795), Alexander Mackenzie (1795), Angus Shaw (1796), Roderick Mackenzie (1796), Duncan McGillivray (1799), George Gillespie (1799), Jacques Porlier (1801), Alexander Cuthbert (1802), Alexander Fraser (1803) and Simon Fraser (1803). The honorary members were Captains John Edwards, Errol Boyd and Alex. Patterson, of the company's ships, and Captain Daniel Robertson and Major William Doyle, who had commanded the garrison at Michilimackinac.

A very few notes will suffice to identify the more important of these names. A number of them were parties to the reorganization of the North West Company in 1790, that is to say, Alexander Mackenzie, Montour, Small, Gregory, William McGillivray. Gregory was one of the earliest of the fur traders, and for several years shared with McTavish and Frobisher the responsible position of agent of the North West Company at Montreal. Alexander Mackenzie got his first training in Gregory's counting house in Montreal.

Of the great explorer, the man who first traced the mighty stream that bears his name to the Arctic, and first realized the long dream of an overland route to the Pacific, it is not necessary to say anything here. His cousin Roderick McKenzie did notable service in the west, having among other things built Fort Chipewyan, that once famous centre of the fur trade, established the Athabaska Library, and rediscovered the Kaministiquia route. He spent some years gathering material for a history of the North West Company, but the project for some reason fell through. The journals and other material he collected are now in the Public Archives at Ottawa and the McGill University Library. A number of them were published by Masson in his *Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-ouest*.

Roderick McKenzie, and Simon McTavish each married daughters of Charles Chaboillez. Other cases of the connection by marriage of North West Company families have been or will be mentioned. In fact we have in the group of men who made up the Beaver Club something much more like a Family Compact than that which was known by the name in Upper Canada.

William McGillivray and his brother Simon were associated with their uncle McTavish in the firm of McTavish, McGillivrays and Company, which succeeded that of McTavish, Frobisher and Company. William McGillivray was one of Selkirk's most determined opponents. Fort William was named after him. He became a member of the Executive Council of Canada, and died in 1825. Duncan McGillivray, who was also at one time a member of the firm, discovered Howse pass in 1800. John McDonald of Garth, in his Autobiographical Notes, says he was "as fine a fellow as ever lived". He died in 1808.

Simon Fraser, the narrative of whose extraordinarily difficult and dangerous journey down the gorge of the Fraser in 1808 is included in Masson's collection, also needs no particular introduction. Patrick Small, according to a manuscript note of Roderick McKenzie, was a nephew of General Small of the 42nd Highlanders. David Thompson, the famous explorer, married his half-breed daughter. Isaac Todd was among the earliest of the British merchants of Montreal. We find him going security in 1767 for the fur trading license of Thomas Curry, who was the first British trader from Montreal to follow Finlay to the Saskatchewan. That Todd was a man of very considerable influence in the councils of the North West Company is made evident by the fact that one of its principal vessels, which supplied the trading posts on the Pacific coast direct from London, was named the "Isaac Todd." It had been sent out in the first instance to oppose Astor's ambitious plans at Astoria. This vessel brought trading goods to the Pacific coast, then sailed with furs to China.

Dr. Atherton, in his *History of Montreal*, mentions a Dr. Daniel Robertson, a retired lieutenant of the 42nd Regiment, who practiced medicine in Montreal about this time, and who no doubt is the Captain Daniel Robertson elected an honourary member of the Beaver Club in 1793.

It will be convenient to discuss briefly at this point the Rules of the club, apparently adopted in February, 1807.

Article 1 provided that the club should consist of not more than forty members and eight honourary members. This number was increased in 1815 to fifty with ten honourary members; and in 1817 to fifty-five, with the same number of honourary members.

The second article provided that no new member should be admitted except with the unanimous consent of all the members present, to be taken by ballot, and proposed at the previous meeting. This particular rule was intended to be like the laws of the Medes and Persians, for the eighth article, while conceding the right of the majority of the members to adopt such further regulations as might be thought desirable from time to time, makes the exception, "but



the rule for receiving a member cannot be altered." Nevertheless it was altered on one occasion, or at any rate ignored, several new members, because of special circumstances, being proposed and elected at the same meeting.

The third article provided that every member should have the liberty of inviting as many guests as he thought proper, on condition that he gave timely notice to the provider, or as we would say to-day the caterer. At one of the last meetings of the club, in January, 1827, this rule was amended by providing that no member should be allowed to invite more than three guests. However, at the last meeting of the club in March, 1827, George Simpson (afterwards Sir George) is credited with no less than ten guests. The saying that club rules are made to be broken evidently has something more than a present-day application.

The fourth article gave liberty to each member to drink as he pleased after the club toasts had gone round, and to retire at his pleasure; and the ninth article set forth the club toasts as: 1st The Mother of all Saints; 2nd. The King; 3rd. The Fur Trade in all its branches; 4th. Voyageurs Wives and Children; and 5th. Absent Members.

By the fifth article, no member might have a party at his house on club days, nor accept invitations, but if in town must attend, unless prevented by indisposition.

The sixth compelled each member to wear his medal on club days, with a ribbon of sky blue, or forfeit one dollar. In January, 1827, it was resolved that every member of the club, out of respect to the memory of William McGillivray and other deceased members, should wear his medal with a black ribbon.

The reference here is to the famous gold medal of the Beaver Club, examples of which are found both in the Chateau de Ramezay and the McCord Museum in Montreal, those in the Chateau having belonged to Robert Henry and Gabriel Côté, and those in the McCord Museum to James McGill and Hypolite Desrivieres. There is also one in the Parliamentary Library at Ottawa, somewhat different in character, having been presented to Archibald McLennan in 1792 by the Beaver Club for some act of bravery. He is said to have been elected a member of the club in 1814, but I cannot find any record of it in the minutes.

By the seventh article, the club was to commence its meetings the first week in December and continue once a fortnight to the second week in April. There was also to be what were called Summer Clubs for the captains of the fur ships, who were eligible as Honourary Members. Colonel Landman, in his *Adventures and Recollections*, mentions a house at Lachine owned by the North West Com-



pany, "wherein an abundant luncheon was awaiting our arrival", and Mr. Lynn Hetherington, in an article on the Beaver Club in the "University Magazine," some years ago, suggests that this was the Summer Club maintained for the use of the captains.

If they were all treated here as generously as Landmann, they must have had merry times, for that entertaining traveller tells us that he and his companions, who included Sir Alexander Mackenzie and other members of the North West Company, with officers of the 60th Regiment, made such a night of it that by six o'clock the only two left at the table were Mackenzie and McGillivray, both seasoned Scotchmen; the rest, as Landmann says, having fallen from their seats; he himself to save himself from being trampled upon, having contrived to draw himself into the fireplace, where he sat up in one of the corners, there being no stove or grate.

"Lachine," says Adèle Clarke in *Old Montreal*, "was the Hudson's Bay headquarters and the place from which the voyageurs used to start for the west." (This was, of course, after the union of the two companies in 1821). "Every spring they launched a fleet of canoes with seven or eight hundred voyageurs. Chief Factor Sir George Simpson's house stood where the convent now is, and the old storehouses and an ancient log dwelling of a primitive character still stand in an excellent state of preservation on the river bank there. The history of the latter was said to go back two hundred and fifty years. Sir George Simpson, who was the controlling spirit of the Northwest in his day, died in 1860, at Lachine".

The eighth article provided that fines should be imposed for a breach of any of the regulations. In December, 1815, a new rule was adopted, that any member neglecting to put down the names of his guests before dinner should forfeit six bottles of Madeira wine to the club of the day.

The presiding officer at the club dinners was the president, under whom was a vice-president and a clerk. A new rule adopted in 1815 imposed upon the vice-president the duty of delivering to the secretary of the club, in the course of the week following each Club Day, the account of the expenses of the day, with the names of the members present and their guests, and imposed a penalty of six bottles of Madeira if this duty were neglected. The unfortunate vice-president also had to make good any deficiencies arising from his neglect.

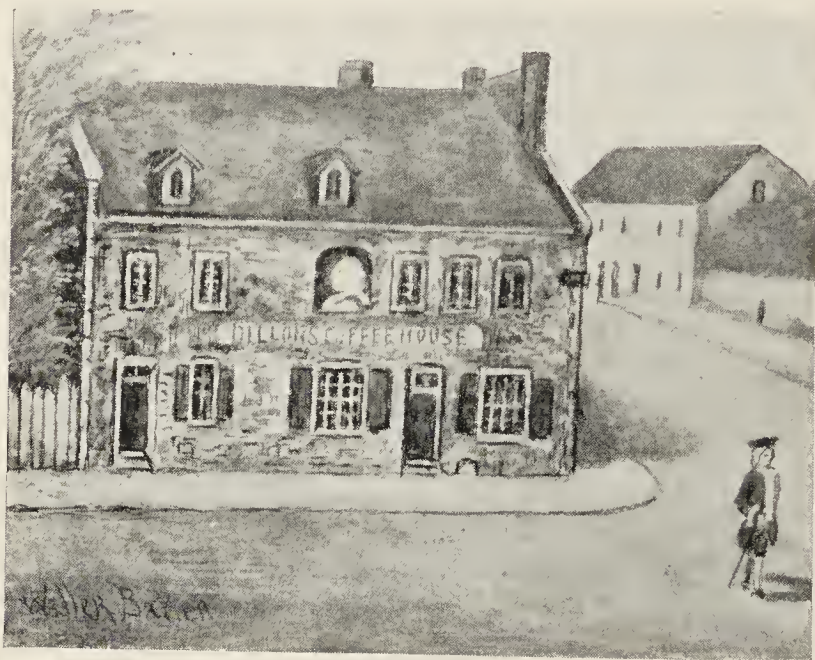
The president was to name the vice-president as his assistant for the day, and the latter his clerk, and these were to succeed in rotation to the chair. All unmarried members having servants were required to bring them to the club.

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There is no evidence as to where the Beaver Club met previous to 1807, but that year it made use of the City Tavern, kept by one Wm. Hamilton, in January, February, March, and April; and in November of the same year switched its patronage to Richard Dillon, who kept a hostelry variously known as the Montreal Hotel, Dillon's Tavern, Dillon's Coffee House or Dillon's Hotel. The tavern was on the southwest corner of St. James street and Place D'Armes. It was pulled down about 1858 to make way for the Liverpool, London and Globe Insurance Company's building. Dillon, besides being a shrewd and successful inn-keeper, was also an artist of some ability, as witness his sketches of Montreal in 1800.



Dillon's Tavern.

At the meeting of the club on January 28, 1807, a warm discussion arose over the name of the club, the new members urging that it should be changed to the Voyageurs Club, and the old members objecting. On its being put to a vote, the twelve members present split even, and it was then decided that the question should be determined by the toss of a dollar. If the coin fell head uppermost the club should retain its name; if downwards, it would be changed to the Voyageurs Club. The dollar fell head uppermost, and the secretary remarks feelingly "the club retains its original name as when first instituted in 1785—Beaver Club".

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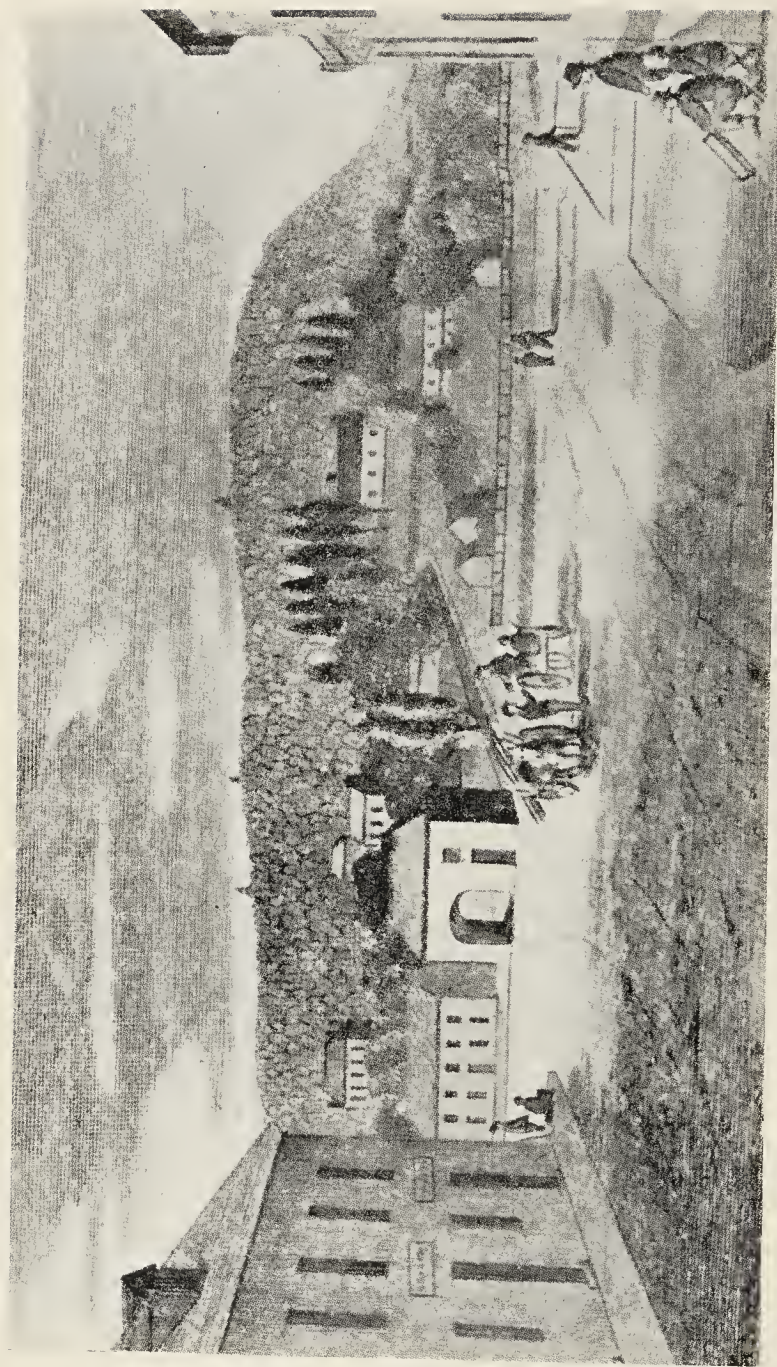
Joseph Frobisher was secretary of the club at this time and it is interesting to compare the entries in his manuscript Diary, 1806-10, with the Minutes of the Beaver Club. And this brings up again the question as to the meeting place of the club. The idea that prevailed for some time that the Beaver Club had a definite and fixed meeting place, or in other words a club house, was of course erroneous. Both the Club Minutes and Frobisher's Diary make this quite clear. The Club held its fortnightly meetings, or at any rate most of them, in one or other of the popular Montreal taverns of the period. As already mentioned, the City Tavern was used in the early part of 1807, and Dillon's Hotel later in the same year, and from that time to the end of 1815, when for some reason the place of meeting was changed to Palmer's Tavern, and the following year to Tesseyman's. At any rate the club bill that year is in favour of one Tesseyman. In 1817 the meeting took place at the Mansion House Hotel, and in 1827 at the Masonic Hall Hotel.

A point arises here as to whether or not the club ever met at the homes of its members. The only meeting of that kind mentioned in the club minutes was on January 18, 1827, when it took place at the house of William Blackwood. That, however, seems to have been only a business meeting to reorganize the club, as distinguished from the regular club dinners. In Frobisher's Diary, under date March 10, 1810, one finds the entry "Dined at home. Beaver Club. Major Loyd and Mr. Burke guests;" and on the 24th of the same month, "Dined at home. Beaver Club." Does Frobisher mean that the club met those nights at his house, that is to say at the famous Beaver Hall on Beaver Hall Hill, or that he deliberately broke the sacred rule of the club and was consequently mulcted so many bottles of Madeira or whatever the fine was at that time? The minutes of the club furnish the answer. Frobisher is entered as ill and therefore is not fined. His guests are entertained at the club.

Frobisher mentions in his Diary a Bachelor Club, which met at Gillis Coffee House in 1807; also a Sociable Club which met at the City Tavern, possibly another name for the Bachelor Club. He notes that the City Tavern was sold at public auction at Gillis Coffee House, April 4, 1808, to David Ross for £1,380 stg.

April 9 of the same year, he notes the death of Duncan McGillivray, and under date of the 11th, he writes: "Duncan McGillivray was buried at the mountain in McTavish Family Vault." That is the old vault half way up Mount Royal, the grounds of which are now in a very dilapidated condition. Mourners: Mr. McGillivray and Judge Reid, Frobisher and R. Mackenzie, Fraser and Hollowell, Todd and Ogden, J. Reid and son, B. Frobisher and Hollowell, Henry





#### BEAVER HALL HILL

Taken from near McGill and St. James streets, Showing the Hay Market, now Victoria Square, Beaver Hall (note the spelling) near the centre, distinguished by its poplars, the Weigh-House to the left, and on the extreme right a small portion of the American Presbyterian Church.



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and Chaboillez, Caldwell and Jo Frobisher. Pall-bearers: Pothier, Blackwood, Wm. McKay, D. Mackenzie, Garden, Thain. April 17 the mourners and pall-bearers attended at Church with their scarfs and hat bands, after the will was read at D. McGillivray's own house.

April 7 Frobisher was one of a party at Lachine to see the canoes off. A similar entry in May, 1809; and in May, 1810, "Dined at Lachine. The N.W. Canoes sett off."

May 27, 1808. "Went to St. Rose to the election of the county of Essengham, with an intention of proposing Mr. Rod MacKenzie, but found the party formed and himself not present and not known to them. I declined. Joseph Duclos and Joseph Meunier both Habitants who could neither read or write was elected."

June 5, 1809. "Public Dinner at City Tavern to celebrate the King's Birthday."

May 25, 1810. "Dined at Mr. McGillivray. Sir Alex. Mackenzie arrived from London by N. York."

June 28, 1810. "The Steam Boat with Governor Gore and his Lady Mr. and Mrs. McGillivray and the children set off at 11 o'clock for Quebec."

But to return to the Beaver Club and its minutes. One learns that in 1807, the club dinners at the City Tavern ranged in cost from £8.4 to £21.17, and the individual expense for the seven meetings from £3.5 to £20.14. It appears from an entry at this time that the gold medals of the Club cost £3.10 each.

When the place of meeting was changed to the Montreal Hotel, in November, 1807, the club made an agreement with Dillon to pay for the dinners 7/6 a head, for Madeira wine 6/ per bottle, and for Port Wine bottled in England 5/ per bottle. Members' bills for the next dinner ran from £1.15 to £3.10. One surmises that wine made up a considerable proportion of the bill. At one of the subsequent meetings John Finlay's dinner cost him £4.1.3.

Dillon's bill against the club for one of their dinners in the 1807-8 season would make the hair of a prohibitionist stand on end:—

To 32 dinners at 7/6.. . . .	£12
29 bottles Madeira 6/-.. . . .	8.14
19 bottles Port 5/.. . . .	4.15
14 bottles Porter 2/6.. . . .	1.15
12 quarts ale.. . . .	.8
7 suppers.. . . .	8.9
Brandy and gin and negus.. . . .	5.
Segars, pipes and tob.. . . .	5.6

One gathers that the conduct of the members of the club was, nevertheless, fairly seemly, as only three wine glasses were broken. A dinner on December 16, 1809, appears to have been marked with

not quite such decorum, as a decanter and four glasses were broken during the evening. But this, after all, pales before Colonel Landmann's dinner with the Nor'Westers, as described in his *Adventures and Recollections*. Although those who made up the party were nearly all members of the Beaver Club, it was not a club dinner, but was given by Sir Alexander Mackenzie and William McGillivray, who were at that time living together in bachelor apartments.

"In those days" says Landmann "we dined at four o'clock, and after taking a satisfactory quantity of wine, perhaps a bottle each, the married men, viz., Sir John Johnson, McTavish, Frobisher, O'Brien, Judge Ogden, Tom Walker and some others retired, leaving about a dozen to drink to their health."

Among these were probably Sir Alexander Mackenzie and his cousin Roderick, William and Duncan McGillivray, Alexander Henry and perhaps Simon Fraser and Isaac Todd, with Landmann and some others.

"We now began in right earnest and true highland style, and by four o'clock in the morning, the whole of us had arrived at such a degree of perfection that we could all give the war-whoop as well as Mackenzie and McGillivray, we could all sing admirably, we could all drink like fishes, and we all thought we could dance on the table without disturbing a single decanter, glass or plate by which it was profusely covered; but on making the experiment we discovered that it was a complete delusion, and ultimately we broke all the plates, glasses, bottles, &c. and the table also, and worse than all the heads and hands of the party received many severe contusions, cuts and scratches. . . . I was afterwards informed that one hundred and twenty bottles of wine had been consumed at our convivial meeting, but I should think a great deal had been spilt and wasted."

The very spirited account of the Beaver Club meetings which Dr. C. B. Reed has given in his *Masters of the Wilderness*, was, one suspects, based largely upon this story of Colonel Landmann's, and is therefore more or less of a libel upon that dignified club.

One notes among the guests at the club dinners, officers of the famous 100th Regiment, the 49th, 24th, 41st and other corps. Sir John Johnson, son of Sir William Johnson, and at this time Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, was a frequent guest; as was also Captain, afterward Colonel, John By, who was later to build the Rideau Canal and give his name to Bytown, now Ottawa.

In September, 1808, the guests included General Drummond, afterward Sir George Drummond, who commanded the troops in Upper Canada in 1813-14, and succeeded Prevost as Administrator; Colonel Sheaffe, later Sir R. H. Sheaffe, who succeeded to the com-

mand at Queenston Heights after the death of Brock; and John Jacob Astor. Astor, says Ross Cox, in his *Adventures on the Columbia River*, "made proposals to the North West Company to join with him in forming an establishment on the Columbia river. This proposition was submitted to the consideration of a general meeting of the wintering proprietors, and, after some negotiations as to the details, rejected. Mr. Astor, therefore determined to make the attempt without their co-operation, and in the winter of 1809 he succeeded in forming an association called the Pacific Fur Company, of which he himself was the chief proprietor." The founding of Astoria, at the mouth of the Columbia, was one of the results of this movement. As Astor dined at the Beaver Club in September, 1808, it is not too much to conjecture that he was at this time sounding the partners of the North West Company on this very project. He, it must be remembered, had been pretty closely identified with the fur trade that had its base in Montreal, and it is said that he perfected himself in the business in the office of Alexander Henry. Astor's plans, according to Alexander Ross, were extremely ambitious. He "was to have annihilated the South Company; rivalled the North West Company; extinguished the Hudson's Bay Company; driven the Russians into the Frozen ocean; and with the resources of China to have enriched America." If that was his dream, it was not quite realized.

Isaac Brock was a guest of the club in 1808 and again in 1810, with Major, afterward Major-General, Herriot. Herriot served under De Salaberry at Chateauguay. One finds also the names of such well-known Montrealers of the period as Mr. Justice Ogden, Dr. Selby, James Baby, Mr. Justice Reid, later Chief Justice, and Dr. Adam Thom, then practicing law in Montreal, and afterward Recorder of Ruperts Land. Also Colonel John Murray, who led the assault on Fort Niagara, and rose to the rank of Major General, and Colonel Henry A. Proctor, whose name is associated with the unfortunate engagement at Moraviantown in 1813.

Lord Selkirk had been a guest of the Beaver Club in 1804. Thirteen years later, when he was engaged in his ambitious undertaking of planting a settlement on the banks of the Red river, his former hosts, now his bitter opponents, made the serious charge that he had used his privileged position as a guest to obtain information that he used afterward to injure the North West Company. "His enquiries" says the *Narrative of Occurrences*, published on behalf of the North West Company, "were readily answered by these gentlemen, who withheld no information which could gratify the liberal and useful researches of a noble traveller. They remarked at the time,



that these enquiries were more extended than usual," and he is charged in so many words with abuse of their hospitality. Masson accepts the charge as authentic, in the Introduction to his *Bourgeois*; Dr. Bryce, in his *Selkirk* thinks it groundless; and Chester Martin, in his *Selkirk's Work in Canada* demonstrates clearly enough that, whether or not Selkirk made use later of information obtained in Montreal in 1804, there is no reason to suppose that he deliberately misused his privileges as a guest. It was in fact not for some years after that date that he began to interest himself in the possibility of colonizing the Red river country.

It may be convenient to note here certain alleged details in connection with the Beaver Club dinners, that appear to have been first suggested in Dr. Bryce's *Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company*, elaborated in his *Selkirk*, and repeated in Professor Martin's book, in Reed's *Masters of the Wilderness*, and in an article in the *University Magazine* by Lynn Hetherington, "Canada's First Social Club."

Speaking of the members of the Beaver Club, Dr. Bryce says: "The appointments of their club house were notable. On their tables silver and glassware, of a kind unknown elsewhere in Canada, shone with resplendent light at their feasts. . . . Bear, beaver, pemmican, and venison were served in the fashion of the posts, song and dance gave entertainment during the evening, and when wine brought exhilaration in the early morning hours, partners, factors and traders, in the sight of all the servants or *voyageurs* who happened to gain admittance, engaged in the "*grand voyage*" which consisted in all seating themselves in a row on the rich carpet, each armed with tongs, poker, sword, or walking stick to serve as paddle, and in boisterous manner singing a *voyageur's* song, "Malbrouck" or "A la Claire Fontaine", while they paddled as regularly as the excited state of their nerves would allow".

Now it is possible that Bryce may have got this story from Selkirk's papers, but he does not mention his authority, nor do any of the others who have followed him. There is, it is true, nothing inherently impossible, or perhaps even improbable, in the story, but one would like to know just how and where it originated.

Both Dr. Reed, and Dr. Atherton in his *History of Montreal*, say that the calumet entered into the proceedings. "The members" says Dr. Atherton, "recounted the perils they had passed through and after passing around the Indian emblem of peace "the Calumet" the officer appointed for the purpose made a suitable harangue."

Another statement, found first in Masson's *Bourgeois*, and repeated by Bryce and other writers, is that there are still to be met



with in Montreal pieces of silverware and glassware formerly the property of the Beaver Club. Mr. Hetherington embellishes this bald statement by adding that these "table appointments, stamped and engraved with their crest of the beaver, were unsurpassed for richness and beauty in crystal, silver and linen".

Mr. Hetherington mentions, in addition to the plate, certain snuff boxes associated with the Beaver Club, which are now owned by some of the Canadian families, and adds that at the last meeting of the club, which he says was disbanded in 1824, the Earl of Dalhousie, who was then Governor-General of Canada, was present, and gave to each of the twenty members a silver snuff-box, with solid gold edges. On the cover was engraved: "The Earl of Dalhousie, to . . . . in remembrance of the Beaver Club, 24th May, 1824".

Dr. Reed makes the sale of one of these snuff-boxes in New York in 1894 the text of his article on the Beaver Club. It was one presented to James Hughes of the North West Company. Dr. Reed tells his story of the club and its environment as coming from a grandson of Hughes, who had it from the old fur trader. Incidentally, he prints in a foot-note the information that Robert McCord (founder of the McCord Museum in Montreal) "inclines to doubt the authenticity of the snuff-box".

I am not quite sure that Dr. Reed was not trying to pull our legs with these alleged reminiscences of Hughes, but if it was serious, the story is not altogether convincing. Hughes is described as one of the pillars of the Beaver Club, and is said to have had Selkirk as his guest at the club again and again in 1809. Now there is nothing in the minutes of the Beaver Club to support the statement that Selkirk was a guest in 1809. As a matter of fact he was then on the other side of the Atlantic, developing his Red river scheme. Hughes was not elected a member of the club until 1813. Selkirk spent the winter of 1815-16 in Montreal, but at that time he was about the last man in the world that would have been invited to the Beaver Club.

"Washington Irving" says Dr. Reed "had sat at the great table of the club on many an occasion. Here he received the impetus and developed the interest which subsequently culminated in those fascinating tales of the wilderness, *Astoria*, *A Tour of the Prairies*, and *Captain Bonneville*.....In 1804 Thomas Moore was the guest of the Club. . . . Hither in due time came the celebrated astronomer, geographer and explorer, David Thompson. . . Later on Sir John Franklin, then a lieutenant, sat with many others in the great hall, brimful of life, buoyant with hope. . . and here he pledged the health of the club while the piercing northern blasts were howling over the brow of the neighbouring Mount Royal", &c., &c.

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All this one is rather inclined to take with a grain of salt. Washington Irving certainly was not a guest of the club between 1806 and its final meeting in 1827, as the minutes show. Between 1804 and 1806 he was in Europe, and again between 1815 and 1832. Before 1804, he was a very young man, reading law in New York. There is no confirmation of a visit to Montreal at that time.

Thomas Moore was certainly in Montreal in 1804, and may have been entertained at the Beaver Club. David Thompson, however, could not have been there either as member or guest, as he landed at Fort Churchill in 1789, and from that time until 1812 he was never nearer Montreal than Fort William. There is nothing in the minutes of the club to suggest that he was present after that date. Franklin was in America in 1819-1822, but came and went by way of York Factory, and was never anywhere near Montreal. He made a second expedition to the Arctic Coast in 1825-1827. On this journey he went out by way of New York, and returned in the summer of 1827 by the Ottawa river route to Montreal. Therefore it would be in August, 1827, if at all, that Franklin was a guest at the Beaver Club. But unfortunately, the very last meeting of the Beaver Club was in March of that year. Altogether one is forced to conclude that these reminiscences of James Hughes, as told to his grandson, and reported by Dr. Reed, are not quite authentic.

The minutes of the Beaver Club, though not so picturesque, are at least dependable. The list of members in 1810-11 shows 15 in town, 5 in the neighbourhood, 4 in England and 9 in the Indian country, with 7 honorary members, 40 in all. We find the same total in 1814, with 24 in and about Montreal, 10 in the west, and 6 overseas. Of these, Sir Alexander Mackenzie was in Scotland, Thomas and John Forsyth and Isaac Todd in London. In a letter from Alexander Henry to John Askin dated May 9, 1815, he says, "I received a letter a few days ago from our old friend Todd. He was then at Bath taking the mineral waters, and says if his leg gets better he will return to this country as he has no friends in any other. I expect he will come by New York. He is not the only one whom old age deprives of friends. I must say that I experience every day the want of old acquaintances. They are all dead. There is only one alive in Montreal that was here when I came. I know but very few. What do you think of our Beaver Club which commenced in 1786 and consisted of 16 members (the old man's memory was a little at fault)—and I the only one alive. Our late friend McGill was the last and a great loss he was to Montreal."

Lieut. Col. McKay, who had succeeded Joseph Frobisher as secretary, was himself succeeded this year by George Moffatt. It is noted

that in 1814 the only survivor of the original nineteen members was Alexander Henry.

John Johnston, whose "Account of Lake Superior" is included in the second volume of Masson's *Bourgeois*, and who had been elected to the club in 1808, attended a meeting in November, 1814, where he read the following original composition, which was evidently appreciated, as it was duly spread upon the minutes:—

Ye wanderers o'er Canada's wide domain,  
What pleasure here to meet you once again!  
Here, to recount the toils and perils past,  
Perils and toils still longer doom'd to last.  
For soon, again, the base incidious foe  
With rage inspired, will strike a second blow,  
Renew the sum of pillage, or of fire,  
As hatred, envy, or revenge inspire.  
Ours then the task, a gen'rous aid to lend  
To those that now our Beaver Lodge defend;  
And with the Hunter's force, the Hunter's art,  
Renew their stores, and cheer each manly heart,  
Who bravely suffers in a barb'rous clime,  
To raise the British name & character sublime!  
Our freeborne Allies too deserve applause—  
Faithful to Britain and her sacred cause;  
With patience suffering in the arduous strife  
Tho' oft deprived of all the sweets of life.  
Soon, then, as this portentous storm is o'er,  
And peace our traffic shall again restore,  
Be it our constant effort to improve  
The Indian's comforts, and secure his love.  
And may the *Beaver Club* from year to year  
In peace renew its social meetings here.

Among the guests in 1814 were General Brisbane, the Marquis of Tweeddale, Mr. Ermatinger and Colonel Talbot. This may have been the same Ermatinger who was a magistrate at Sault Ste Marie in 1814 when Selkirk went through, and who declined to accompany him to Fort William to assist in bringing those responsible for the Seven Oaks affair to justice. Talbot was of course Thomas Talbot of the Talbot settlement in Upper Canada, and author of *Six Years in the Canadas*.

In 1815 there were eleven meetings, for which Dillon's bill was £399.4. The eighteen members who partook of these meals were out of pocket sums ranging from £4.2.10 to £52.13.2. Imagine paying \$250 for eleven dinners, even though this included guests! In December of this year F. A. Larocque, one of the new members, and author of "The Missouri Journal" in the first volume of Masson's *Bourgeois*, was fined one dollar for appearing without his medal. Henry Mackenzie suffered the same penalty in April, 1816. Larocque was elected

Secretary this year. There were 45 members in 1816 with 4 honorary members.

Among the new members elected in 1817 was Dr. John McLoughlin, who after the union of the Hudson's Bay and North West Companies in 1821 was to become one of the outstanding figures in the fur trade on the Pacific coast. He had been born near Quebec the year before the founding of the Beaver Club, and married the widow of Alexander Mackay, who had been elected a member in 1809, and perished in the *Tonquin* two years later. Townsend describes McLoughlin as "a large, dignified, and very noble looking man, with a fine expressive countenance, and remarkably bland and pleasing manners," and bears tribute to his invariable and disinterested kindness. McLoughlin's election was one of the last acts of the Beaver Club, before it went into retirement for ten years.

There is very little to record in connection with the meetings of the revived club in 1827. The bill for the February meeting includes £4 for singers, 9/ for a broken chair, and 15/ for broken glasses, so that the dinners were still somewhat lively. The guests included General Gordon, one of the Molsons, a Mr. Heaven and Mr. Dunlop, perhaps William Dunlop of the Canada Company, familiarly known as "Tiger" Dunlop.

And that was the end of the Beaver Club.



## SOME HISTORIC AND PREHISTORIC SITES OF CANADA

BY

THE CANADIAN NATIONAL PARKS BRANCH

During the past year the work of preserving and marking historic sites, recommended by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada as being of national importance, was steadily carried on. At a general meeting of the board, which acts in an advisory capacity to the department, forty additional sites were selected for action, in addition to the one hundred and twenty-six previously recommended. The present personnel of the Board is as follows:—

*Chairman*—Brig.-Gen. E. A. Cruikshank, LL.D., F.R.S.C., Ottawa, Ontario; J. H. Coyne, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S.C., St. Thomas, Ontario; His Honour F. W. Howay, LL.B., F.R.S.C., New Westminster, B.C.; J. Clarence Webster, B.A., M.D., (Edin.), etc., Shediac, N.B.; Victor Morin, B.A., LL.D., F.R.S.C., Montreal, Quebec; J. B. Harkin, Commissioner of Canadian National Parks, Ottawa, Ontario.

*Secretary*—Major A. A. Pinard, Department of Interior, Ottawa.

Owing to the large number of sites to be marked and the small appropriation available, the policy which has been adopted is to provide for the present only for the actual work required to prevent deterioration of existing ruins, and for the erection of a simple design of a standard in the form of a shaft, cairn or boulder, to carry the standard bronze tablet.

This tablet is of a very artistic nature and the several phases of Canadian history have been symbolically worked into the frame. The centre panel bears an inscription setting out the historic data pertaining to the reasons for the commemoration of the site. Forty-two of these tablets have been cast to date, and an additional order for forty was recently placed.

Local societies and organizations are working in accord with the department, and sentiment is already growing strong in connection with this national work, which is practically in its infancy.

### SITES MARKED

The following twenty-six sites have been marked to date by the erection of memorials, and in most instances the unveiling ceremonies carried out:—

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## THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

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### MARITIME PROVINCES

*Fort Cumberland, N.B. (about four miles from Amherst, N.S.)*

Formerly old French Fort Beauséjour, erected in the middle of the 17th century, near Beaubassin, one of the most important Acadian settlements. Captured by the British in 1755 and named Fort Cumberland. Ruins of a fort of five bastions and of the old barracks are still visible. The site, comprising an area of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  acres, was enclosed with a suitable design of wire fence, a cobble stone cairn, tablet and flagpole erected, and action has been taken to preserve the ruins from further deterioration. Part-time caretaker appointed.

*Fort Monckton, N.B. (about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Port Elgin.)*

Formerly old Fort Gaspereaux, erected by the French in 1750 at Bay Verte to command the defence of the Isthmus of Chignecto; captured by the British in 1755. The site containing the remains, which consist of a square of trenches and the old cemetery, is controlled by the Department of Marine and Fisheries. A cairn and tablet were erected and the old cemetery fenced. Part-time caretaker appointed.

*St. John, N.B.*

A large granite boulder, to which is affixed a tablet, was erected on a site provided by the city in Market Square to commemorate the landing of the United Empire Loyalists, May 18, 1783, who, because of their loyalty to the British Crown, were forced to leave their homes and possessions and migrate to Canada.

*Fort Lawrence, N.S. (three miles from Amherst, N.S.)*

Erected in 1750 by Major Charles Lawrence at Misagouche, and proved an important factor in the struggles between the French and English during the eighteenth century. The only remains are vague traces of the trenches. A cairn and tablet were erected, surrounded by a fence, on a plot of land adjacent to the highway which was donated by Mr. David Lawrence. Part-time caretaker appointed.

*Shelburne, N.S.*

A boulder and tablet were erected on a site provided by the town at the intersection of King and Bay streets facing the harbour, commemorating it as the Loyalist Town of Nova Scotia, which was settled in the years following the close of the American Revolution by men and women determined to remain under the flag and rule of Great Britain rather than become citizens of the United States. The first fleet of settlers arrived in the harbour, which was then known as Port Roseway, on May 4, 1783, and the town was laid out during the same year.

*Champlain's Habitation, Lower Granville, N.S.*

A cairn and tablet, enclosed by an iron chain fence, were erected on a plot of land gratuitously donated by Mr. Jacob Robblee to commemorate the site of the first fort or "Habitation" of Port Royal, built by the French under De Monts and Champlain in 1605. This fort was attacked and partially destroyed by a British force from Virginia in 1613, restored and occupied by Scottish Colonists in 1629 and laid waste on their retirement from the country in 1632. Part-time caretaker appointed.

*Fort Charnisay, St. John, N.B.*

Erected by Sieur d'Aulnay de Charnisay, Governor of Acadia in 1645, and occupied later by Governor Charles de la Tour. Rebuilt by Governor Villebon in 1698 and restored by Boishébert in 1751. Again rebuilt and renamed by General Monckton in 1758. Dismantled in 1768. A boulder and tablet were erected on a site provided by the city of St. John.

QUEBEC

*St. Maurice Forges (near Three Rivers.)*

These forges, situated on the St. Lawrence river about seven miles from the present city of Three Rivers, were established in 1730 by Poulin de Francheville and from them, for many generations, the people of Canada were supplied with stoves, axes, nails, bars, hammers, spades and other utensils. On the occasion of the American revolution in 1776, guns were manufactured there for the defence of Canada. Only a few crumbled ruins of the furnaces together with the chimney of the forges now remain. A cairn and tablet were erected on a small plot of land donated by Mr. Ernest Marchand and the site was suitably fenced. Part-time caretaker appointed.

*Battle of Three Rivers, at Three Rivers.*

A boulder and tablet were erected on a small plot of land facing des Forges street, donated by Mr. W. Michelin, and the site enclosed with a suitably designed fence, to commemorate the military operations that took place there during the American invasion of 1776. Early in June of that year an attack was made on Three Rivers which was without garrison or defence. A corps of volunteers was organized who succeeded in holding the enemy at bay until the arrival of reinforcements from Quebec. A constant fire was maintained and the American forces were eventually dispersed with a loss of about 200 men. Part-time caretaker appointed.



*Fort Laprairie, at Laprairie.*

A cairn and tablet were erected in a small park which now occupies the site of the old fort. This was a refuge for the settlers during a quarter of a century of wars, 1687-1713, and was the scene of an unsuccessful attack by New England States Militia troops during the nights of August 10 and 11, 1691. The unveiling ceremonies were carried out on September 23 last, in accordance with arrangements made by the town of Laprairie.



Site of Battle of Three Rivers, Three Rivers, P.Q.

*Second Battle of Laprairie (four miles from Laprairie.)*

A cairn and tablet were erected on a small plot of land donated by Mr. David Daigneault, and the site enclosed with a suitably designed fence, to commemorate the military operations which took place on the same day as the Battle of Laprairie, namely August 11, 1691. The New England column, under the command of Major Peter Schuyler, suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the French and their Indian allies during the engagement. The unveiling ceremonies were carried out on September 23 last in conjunction with those at Laprairie.

ONTARIO

*Kingston, First Meeting Place of Executive Council of Upper Canada.*

A tablet was placed on the walls of the building occupied by the Whig Publishing Company on King Street, which stands on the site



of old St. George's Anglican Church in which, on July 8, 1792, Lord Simcoe held his first meeting of the Executive Council of the Province of Upper Canada. The unveiling ceremonies were carried out on July 5, 1923, on the occasion of the joint meeting of the Ontario and Kingston Historical Societies.

*Glengarry House, (four miles east of Cornwall.)*

A cairn and tablet were erected, adjacent to the Montreal-Toronto Provincial highway, on a small plot of land donated by Mr. R. J. Craig, and enclosed with a suitably designed fence, to mark the site of Glengarry House and to commemorate the services of Colonel the Honourable John Macdonnell, a leading pioneer in the settlement and organization of the present province of Ontario. The unveiling ceremonies were carried out on September 17, 1923, in accordance with arrangements made by the Glengarry and County's own Chapter, I.O.D.E. of Alexandria.

*Battle of the Windmill, near Prescott.*

A tablet was placed on the old picturesque windmill situated on the north bank of the St. Lawrence river, one mile east of Prescott, to commemorate the victory over an invading force of American Filibusterers on November 13, 1838.

*Battle of Chrysler's Farm, near Morrisburg.*

A tablet was placed on the existing monument, adjacent to the Montreal-Toronto highway, five miles east of Morrisburg, to commemorate the victory over an invading American force at the battle which took place there on November 11, 1813, during the war of 1812-14. Part-time caretaker appointed.

*Fort Ste. Marie II, Christian Island, near Penetanguishene.*

A boulder and tablet were erected on a plot of land donated by the Indians, and the site suitably fenced, to commemorate the Jesuit Fort, Ste. Marie II, built in 1649-50 for the protection of the missionaries and the Hurons, as a last stand against the Iroquois. The ruins of the fort are to-day easily traceable, and the walls have been restored to an average height of three feet. The unveiling ceremonies were carried out on September 15, 1923, in accordance with arrangements made by the Penetanguishene Historical Society. Part-time caretaker appointed.

*Mission of St. Ignace, near Victoria Harbour.*

A cairn and tablet were erected on a site donated by Mr. Charles E. Newton, comprising  $1\frac{3}{4}$  acres, which was suitably fenced. This is the most probable site of the martyrdom of the Jesuit missionaries,

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## THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

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Fathers Breboeuf and Lalement and of the Huron village captured by the Iroquois on March 16, 1649. The unveiling ceremonies were carried out on September 15, 1923, the necessary arrangements having been made by the Penetanguishene Historical Society.



Unveiling ceremonies, Ste. Marie II, Christian Island, Ont.

### *Port Dover "Cliff Site."*

An artificial stone cross, sixteen feet high, was erected in 1922 on a plot of ground, at the intersection of lake Erie and the river Lynn, to commemorate the taking possession of the lands of the lake Erie region in the name of King Louis XIV of France, by the Sulpician priests Dollier and Galinee, on March 23, 1670. A commemorative tablet and two bronze plates surmounted by the Arms of France, and on which are inscribed the original procès-verbal placed there by these French priests, were in 1923 attached to the pedestal of the cross and the site suitably fenced. Unveiling ceremonies carried out and part-time caretaker appointed.

### *Port Dover, "Wintering Site."*

Situated at the junction of Black creek and the river Lynn, about three-quarters of a mile from the "Cliff Site." A cairn and tablet were erected on a plot of ground donated by Mr. A. Ansley to commemorate the wintering place of Dollier and Galinee and seven other

Frenchmen in 1669-70. A small landing dock was also constructed and the site fenced. Part-time caretaker appointed.

*Battle of Chippewa, near Chippewa.*

A tablet was erected on a monument provided by the Queen Victoria Niagara Falls Park Commission adjacent to their boulevard to commemorate the Battle of Chippewa or Street's creek, July 5, 1814, between Canadian and American troops. This was one of the bloodiest and most stubborn engagements fought during the war of 1812-14. The unveiling and dedication proceedings were carried out on October 15, 1923, in accordance with arrangements made by the Lundy's Lane Historical Society.

*Battle of Frenchman's Creek, near Bridgeburg.*

A tablet was erected on a monument constructed by the Queen Victoria Niagara Falls Park Commission to commemorate the action of Frenchman's Creek, November 28, 1812, between Canadian troops and the American invaders. This was also the landing place of the Fenians on May 31, 1866. The unveiling ceremonies were carried out on October 13, 1923, the necessary arrangements having been made by the Colonel Kirby Chapter of the Daughters of the Empire of Bridgeburg and Fort Erie.

*Battle of Cook's Mills, near Welland.*

A cairn and tablet were erected on a small plot of land adjacent to Lyon's Creek road donated by Mr. Roy Matthews, and the site suitably fenced, to commemorate the Battle of Cook's Mills, October 19, 1814. This was the last action of any importance fought in Upper Canada during the war of 1812-14. The dedication and unveiling proceedings were carried out on July 25, 1923, in accordance with arrangements made by the Lundy's Lane Historical Society.

*Battle of Fort George, Niagara-on-the-Lake.*

A cairn and tablet enclosed with a specially designed iron picket fence were erected on a plot of land transferred from the Department of National Defence, to commemorate the Battle of Fort George, May 27, 1813. This was one of the most critical episodes of the invasion of 1812-14, and eventually resulted in the capture of the fort by the enemy who held it for seven months, during which time some strenuous fighting took place. The unveiling proceedings were carried out on August 16, 1923, in accordance with arrangements made by the Niagara Historical Society.



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## THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

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### *Battlefield of Beechwoods or Beaver Dams, near Thorold.*

A cairn and tablet were erected on a small plot of ground immediately adjacent to the Mountain road near Thorold, donated by Mr. R. L. Peek, and the site was suitably fenced, to commemorate the final phase of the battle of Beechwoods or Beaver Dams, June 24, 1813, between the American invaders and Canadian troops, resulting in the dispersion of the former with heavy losses. This event is probably best known to most Canadians from the romantic story of Laura Secord's long night journey to warn the British outposts of their danger. The memorial was unveiled on August 1, 1923, with a programme arranged by the citizens and Council of the town of Thorold assisted by the local Chapter of the Daughters of the Empire.



Site of Battle of Fort George, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ont.

### *Sault Ste. Marie, "Lock Site."*

A cairn and tablet were erected to commemorate the first Sault Ste. Marie canal, surveyed by the Northwest Company in 1797 with the object of providing a canal for canoes and bateaux. This was in use with wooden lock on or before 1802, and was the first experiment in canal construction in the West. It was destroyed by United States troops in July, 1814. A portion thereof was uncovered in 1889, and later it was rebuilt of stone. The memorial was unveiled on August 7, 1923, in accordance with arrangements made by the Sault Ste.



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## ANNUAL REPORT, 1924

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Marie Historical Society in connection with the Discovery Week and Soldiers' Reunion celebration.

### WESTERN CANADA

*Fort Livingstone, near Pelly, Saskatchewan.*

An area of 960 acres has been reserved with a view to creating a national historic park at a subsequent date. A cairn and tablet were erected on the original site of the fort. This was the first capital of the Northwest Territories in 1876-77, and here, on March 8, 1877, the first session of the Northwest Council was held.

### ACQUISITION OF SITES

Action was also taken in regard to the acquisition of other historic properties, as well as of various monuments and other structures of national interest, as follows:—

### MARITIME PROVINCES

*Louisbourg, N.S.*

A monument erected by the American Society of Colonial Wars to the British soldiers who fell in action was transferred to the custody of the department. A bill was passed by the Nova Scotia Legislature vesting an area of two and one-half acres of the site, held by the Louisbourg Memorial Association, in the Crown. A number of relics found during excavation proceedings at the old lighthouse site were placed in safe-keeping. The erection of four tablets on the site is proposed.

*Battle of Grand Pré, near Grand Pré, N.S.*

Agreement of sale covering a 25-foot square plot obtained and instructions for survey issued. Cairn and tablet proposed to commemorate the Battle of February 10, 1748, in which Colonel Arthur Noble and two other British officers were killed.

*Fort La Tour, St. John, N.B.*

Erected in 1631 by Charles de la Tour, Governor in Acadia. Attacked by his rival d'Aulnay de Charnisay, April 13, 1645, when the garrison was commanded by Madame de la Tour, and which resulted in its capture after a heroic defence. Tablet and boulder to be erected.

*Martello Tower and Blockhouse, St. John, N.B.*

An area, on which is situated one of the few remaining original martello towers, was transferred from the Department of National

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Defence, and action taken to have the necessary repairs made thereon.

### *Charlottetown, P.E.I.*

Permission was obtained to place a tablet on a pillar at the entrance to the Provincial building at Charlottetown to commemorate the several important events associated with the early history of Prince Edward Island.

## QUEBEC

### *Fort Chambly, at Chambly.*

Additional preservation and restoration work was carried out during the past year on the walls of the old fort, the cemetery plot fenced and improvements made on the grounds. A comprehensive plan of general improvements was prepared with a view to beautifying the whole site. The fort was visited during the past year by over eight thousand people.

### *Fort Lennox, Ile-aux-Noix.*

General repairs were carried out on the exterior and interior of the several massive stone buildings located on the site, including the laying of floors, repairs to masonry, painting of walls and roofs, etc. The original sun-dial erected at the fort was secured and placed in position. A museum was established in the main building and several relics of rare interest obtained and displayed. The island and fort were visited last year by over five thousand people.

### *Fort Crevier, at Notre Dame de Pierreville.*

A plot of land 25 feet square was donated by Mr. Ubald Descheneaux to the department on which a cairn and tablet will be erected to commemorate the battles of 1689-93, when a number of soldiers and settlers were killed. The fort was erected in 1687 and was still standing in 1714.

### *Battle of Lacolle, at Lacolle.*

Site of engagement of March 30, 1813, between the American invaders and Canadian troops. A plot of land 25 feet square has been donated to the department and instructions for survey issued. Cairn and tablet to be erected.

### *Madeleine de Vercheres, at Vercheres.*

A monument and statute erected by the Dominion Government to Madeleine de Vercheres, a girl fourteen years of age, who, through her heroic courage, defended the fort which was situated there from

the attacks of the Iroquois in 1692, and thereby saved the settlement, was transferred for maintenance from the Department of Public Works. Part-time caretaker appointed. Tablet to be erected.



Madeleine de Verchères Monument, Verchères, P.Q.

*Fort St. Jean, at St. Johns.*

Constructed in 1748 and was for a considerable period the rendezvous for all military expeditions on the shore of lake Champlain. Demolished in 1760 by the French to prevent its capture by the English. Rebuilt in 1775 and during that year withstood a

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forty-five days' siege by American troops. A triangular plot of land facing Champlain street was transferred from the Department of National Defence on which it is proposed to erect a boulder and tablet.

*Three Rivers Fort and Platon, at Three Rivers.*

Erected in 1634 and was the scene of several attacks by the Iroquois from 1641 to 1660. The Department of Public Works have granted permission to erect a boulder and tablet on the plot of ground at the rear of the Customs building.

*Fort Coteau du Lac, at Coteau du Lac.*

A plot of land immediately adjacent to the public highway, containing  $9\frac{1}{2}$  acres, was transferred from the Department of Railways and Canals. This fort was an important post in the wars of the American Revolution and in 1812. A canal with three locks was constructed on the site in 1779-80, and enlarged in 1804. It is proposed to erect a cairn and tablet and to utilize the ground for park and recreational purposes.

*Battlefield of Odelltown, near Odelltown.*

Site of battles of the 7th and 9th November, 1838. Cairn and tablet proposed for erection on a plot of land adjacent to the King Edward highway leased by the Odelltown Methodist Church trustees.

*Logan Memorial Park, at Percé.*

A plot of land, on which a memorial stands to the memory of Sir William Logan, founder and first director of the Geological Survey, was transferred from the Department of Mines for maintenance. Part-time caretaker appointed.

### ONTARIO

*Glengarry Cairn, Monument Island, near South Lancaster.*

Erected by the Highland Militia of Glengarry to commemorate the services of Sir John Coborne, who commanded Her Majesty's forces in Canada at the time of the Rebellion of 1837-38. The island was purchased in 1922. The cairn has since been ré-pointed, a flag-staff erected, landing dock built and other improvements carried out. Part-time caretaker appointed.

*Fort Wellington, Prescott.*

An area of  $8\frac{1}{2}$  acres, on which are situated a blockhouse, the caretaker's residence and two other buildings, was transferred from the Department of National Defence. The blockhouse was erected



in 1812-13 as the main post for defence between Kingston and Montreal. The force which captured Ogdensburg on the 22nd February, 1813, was assembled there. Repairs were carried out on the blockhouse, caretaker's residence and listening post, and a flag-pole erected.

*Point-au-Baril, Maitland.*

A lease of occupation was executed by Dr. R. E. Webster, granting the department permission to erect a tablet on the walls of an old tower situated on the site.

*Fort de Levis and Batteries at Adams Point, near Cardinal.*

A small plot of land adjacent to the Montreal-Toronto highway opposite Adams Point, was donated to the department by Mr. James Adams, on which it is proposed to erect a cairn and tablet to commemorate Fort de Levis, erected by the French in 1760, and which was surrendered to the British in August of that year.

*Fort Cataracqui or Frontenac, Kingston.*

Permission was obtained from the Department of National Defence to place a tablet on the southern wall of the gate at Tete-du-Pont Barracks, which now occupy the site of the old fort, erected in 1672 by Count de Frontenac, and which was abandoned in 1689, rebuilt in 1696, surrendered to the British in 1758 and then destroyed.

*Martello Shoal Tower, Kingston.*

Situated in Kingston harbour and one of the few remaining examples of that type of fortification. It was erected in 1845 to complete the defence of the port of Kingston as the chief naval station on lake Ontario and the western entrance to the Rideau canal, and was recently transferred from the Department of National Defence for maintenance.

*Port Arthur.*

The town of Port Arthur has executed a lease of occupation covering a site in Gore park, on which it is proposed to erect a cairn and tablet to commemorate the several historic events associated with the early history of that place.

*Port Dover.*

The municipality of the village of Port Dover has granted permission for the erection of a cairn and tablet in Powell park to commemorate the starting point of Brock's expedition in 1812, to relieve the invaded western frontier.

*Point de Meuron, near Fort William.*

A plot of land at the foot of the rapids on the Kaministiquia river was obtained by deed of gift, and it is proposed to erect a cairn and tablet to commemorate the camping ground of the de Meuron regiment and the chief portaging point of the early fur traders.

WESTERN CANADA

*Battle of Seven Oaks, Winnipeg, Manitoba.*

The site and monument situated thereon, which was erected to commemorate the encounter at Seven Oaks in 1816 between the men of the Northwest Fur Company and the Selkirk settlers, was obtained from the Lord Selkirk Association of Rupert's Land.

*Nootka Sound, Friendly Cove, B.C.*

A small plot of land located on the Yuquot Indian Reserve was surrendered by the Indians, on which a cairn and tablet will be erected to commemorate the discovery of Nootka Sound in 1778 by Captain James Cook. This was also the meeting place of Vancouver and Quadra in August, 1792, to determine the land which was to be restored to Britain.

*Prince George, B.C.*

The city have consented to execute a lease covering a small parcel of land on which to erect a memorial to Sir Alexander Mackenzie, who passed that point in 1741, and who was the first white man to cross the Rocky mountains and reach the Pacific coast.

*Yale, B.C.*

A small plot of land has been donated by Mrs. A. Revsbeck on which to erect a boulder and tablet to commemorate the site of Fort Yale built in 1862-5. This was the starting point of the Cariboo wagon road which extended four hundred miles northward to the gold fields of Cariboo.

*Prospect Point, Vancouver, B.C.*

Here on July 26, 1888, the steamer *Beaver* was wrecked. This historic vessel was built for the Hudson's Bay Company at Blackwell, England, in 1835, and was the pioneer steamship of the Pacific ocean. It is proposed to erect a cairn and tablet in Stanley park.

WORK FOR THE FUTURE

The following other sites have been recommended for action by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board and will be suitably marked in due course:—

Fort Edward, Windsor, N.S.  
First Printing Press in Canada, Halifax, N.S.  
First Royal Dockyard, Halifax, N.S.  
Fort La Have, N.S.  
Fort Meductic, near Woodstock, N.B.  
Fort Nashwaak, Fredericton, N.B.  
Battle of the Restigouche, Campbellton, N.B.  
Bathurst, N.B. (Nicholas Denys).  
Hochelaga, Montreal, P.Q.  
Fort Sorel, P.Q.  
Gaspé, P.Q. (Landing Place of Jacques Cartier).  
Tadoussac, P.Q.  
Battle of Rivière des Prairies, Coulee Groulx, P.Q.  
Fort Maisonneuve, Point Callières, P.Q.  
Fort Charlesbourg Royal, Cap Rouge, P.Q.  
Fort Longueuil, Longueuil, P.Q.  
Arbre-à-la-Croix, near Cap Madeleine, P.Q.  
Fort Ste. Thérèse, near St. John, P.Q.  
Valcartier, P.Q.  
Battle of Chateauguay, near Allan's Corners, P.Q.  
Lachine Massacre, Lachine, P.Q.  
Ernestown Shipyard, near Bath, Ont.  
St. Raphael, Ontario (Bishop Alexander Macdonnell).  
Ottawa, Ontario (Rideau canal).  
Southwold Earthworks, near St. Thomas, Ont.  
Mission of Ste. Marie I, near Midland, Ont.  
Vrooman's Battery, near Queenston, Ont.  
Welland Ship Canal, Allanburg, Ont.  
Weishuhn's Redoubt, near Willoughby, Ont.  
Navy Island Shipyard, near Niagara, Ont.  
Fort William, Ont.  
Fort Nottawasaga, near Stayner, Ont.  
Battle of the Longwoods, near Wardsville, Ont.  
Port Stanley, Ont.  
Point Pelee, Ont.  
Sandwich, Ont.  
Glengarry Landing, near Edenvale, Ont.  
House of Thomas McRae, near Chatham, Ont.  
Nanticoke, Ont.

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Battle of York, Toronto, Ont.

Port Talbot, Ont.

Selkirk Settlement, Point Douglas, near Winnipeg, Man.

Forts Rouge, Gibraltar and Garry, Winnipeg, Man.

Battle of Fish Creek, Sask.

Duck Lake Battlefield, Sask.

Battleford, Sask.

Batoche, Sask.

Cut Knife Battlefield, Sask.

Frog Lake Massacre, Alberta.

Fort Macleod, Alberta.

Old Fort Augustus, near Edmonton, Alberta.

Jasper House, Alberta.

Fort Walsh, Alberta.

Fort Langley, B.C.

Fort Victoria, B.C. (Gonzales Point).

Fort Kamloops, B.C.

New Westminster, B.C.

Bella Coola, B.C. (Sir Alexander Mackenzie's farthest point west).



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